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Matt. H. Carpenter

WISCONSIN

IN THREE CENTURIES

1634-1905

NARRATIVE OF THREE CENTURIES IN THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS OF HISTORIC SCENES AND LANDMARKS PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES OF RARE PRINTS DOCUMENTS AND OLD MAPS

Volume Four

H. C. Campbell & Co.

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PREFATORY NOTE

IN the main this volume deals with the history of Wisconsin since the Civil War. It is a period of commercial development largely. The elements contributing thereto had their roots in the earlier formative period of the commonwealth, and it has seemed proper in dealing with these influences to go back to the very beginnings. It is hoped that the topical treatment will afford the reader a more comprehensive view than would have been possible had the subjects indicated been given in fragments scattered through the several volumes.

The graphic narrative of the fires of 1871 in the forest region is an abridgment of an account written by an eye-witness, Colonel C. D. Robinson, of Green Bay. For facts dealing with industrial development, generous tribute has been levied upon a series of studies by Mr. Gardner P. Stickney, of Milwaukee. That part of the history of banking prior to Statehood is from the pen of Mr. R. M. Bashford, of Madison. Other chapters bear the following authorship: Wisconsin's Part in the Spanish-American War, John Poppendieck, Jr., who accompanied the Wisconsin Volunteers as field correspondent for the Milwaukee *Sentinel;* Transportation Facilities, Mr. Frederick L. Holmes, Madison; Schools and Other Educational Institutions, Mr. A. O. Barton, Madison; The Booming of the Gogebic, Mr. William A. Anderson, Madison; the several chapters pertaining to politics since the war, Colonel William J. Anderson, Madison, who served as private secretary to Governors Upham and Scofield. The narrative of the serious labor

troubles during the May riots of 1886 is derived and condensed from the official documents printed by the State.

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CHAPTER I

Growth of the Cities

SINCE the Civil War Wisconsin has fairly entered a current of prosperity. The war pressed heavily upon the people and resources of the State, for one-tenth of its population left for the field of battle in that trying period. At that time the effects of the crisis of 1857 were still felt. Indeed, not until the '70's did the people fully recover from the combined causes mentioned. When once a new momentum had been gained, the movement forward in all branches was continual and pronounced.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the transition of the State from an agricultural community into a manufacturing center than the remarkable growth of the cities. At the beginning of the war the population of the State approximated 800,000; now it is 2,228,449 (State census of 1905). Of these inhabitants, more than half are dwellers in cities. There are eighty-six cities with a population in excess of 2,000 each. The population of the leading cities is as follows: Milwaukee, 312,948; Superior, 36,551; Racine, 32,290; Oskosh, 30,575; La Crosse, 29,078; Madison, 24,301; Sheboygan, 24,026; Green Bay, 22,854; Eau Claire, 18,737; Fond du Lac, 17,284; Appleton, 17,000; Kenosha, 16,235; Marinette, 15,354; Ashland, 14,519; Wausau, 14,458; Janesville, 13,770; Beloit, 12,855; Manitowoc, 12,733.

Thus in eighteen of the chief cities is comprised one-third of the entire population of the State. Seventeen cities ranking next in order bring the list down to the

smaller group of municipalities, each having a population of less than 5,000. The seventeen cities referred to, listed according to numerical importance of inhabitants, are Merrill, Stevens Point, Chippewa Falls, Watertown, Waukesha, Antigo, Grand Rapids, Neenah, Marshfield, Menasha, Baraboo, Oconto, Beaver Dam, Portage, Menominee, Rhinelander, and South Milwaukee. In a survey of these names, it is interesting to note how few were in existence in the early period when city ambitions were first unfolded. At the time of the heated campaign for the coveted honor of becoming Wisconsin's capital the leading competitors were the following cities, many of which have no place on the maps of today: Belmont, Cassville, Helena, Wisconsinapolis, Peru, Wisconsin City, Belleview and Koshkonong. It is interesting to recall, also, that in the early days Green Bay was regarded as destined to become the State's metropolis, and the files of its newspapers fairly bristle with sarcastic comments upon Milwaukee's rival pretensions.

In the main, Wisconsin's cities have much the same characteristics, for industrial conditions and elements of population differ in no material respects. Local individuality most of them have, and these are perhaps indicated by the sobriquets which have attached themselves to some of the cities:

Oskosh—Sawdust City. Many acres of low land and marsh along the river front were reclaimed by means of sawdust. Most of the streets in the mill district were sawdust streets. Numerous fires that sometimes continued for days and even weeks were fed upon this material.

OLD COURT HOUSE—MILWAUKEE 1839.

Wausau—Forest City. Located in a valley hemmed in by hills, all of them covered with dense virgin forests of pine, hemlock and hardwoods. Much of this growth has been felled by the ax of the lumberman.

Sheboygan—Chair City. Ten thousand chairs are made here each day. Sheboygan's chief industry controls the chair market of the world.

Milwaukee—Cream City. The color of the brick manufactured here and largely used in building until recent years suggested this name.

Waukesha—Spring City. The numerous springs yielding water having valuable medicinal properties indicate whence this name originated. Waukesha has also been called the Saratoga of the West.

Fond du Lac—The Fountain City. There are many beautiful fountains in and about the city.

Manitowoc—Clipper City. In the days when many lake vessels were being built, the fastest sailing type hailed from Manitowoc.

La Crosse—Gateway City. All travel into Southern Minnesota concentrates here, ferry and bridge facilities providing means for pursuing the route up Root River Valley. There are dozens of business concerns, societies, lodges and other organizations which utilize this term as part of their names.

Neenah—Paper City. The manufacture of paper is the leading industry here.

Menasha—Wooden Ware City. This name indicates the source of the city's prosperity, the largest plant of its kind being in operation here.

Colby—Midget City. It is claimed that Colby is the smallest incorporated city in the world.

Sturgeon Bay—Canal City. Lake Michigan and Green Bay are connected by means of the Sturgeon Bay canal.

Hudson—Gretna Green. Matrimonial excursionists from Minnesota found this city a convenient point, the marriage laws of Wisconsin being more liberal than those of the State on the opposite side of the river.

Appleton—Crescent City. The town is located on a great bend of the Fox River.

In a consideration of cities and city development, the facts attendant upon the growth of the metropolis, whose size is nearly 1,000 per cent. times that of the second city of the State, become a matter of interest, if not of importance. The beginnings of Milwaukee date back to the beginnings of the territory. Inasmuch as some of the great industrial facilities and community enterprises of the State had their inception here, chronological summary for Milwaukee answers the same purpose for the State at large:

1845—Daily mail to Chicago (by stage), Nov. 18.
Daguerrotypes taken, Sept. 2.
1847—Daily newspaper started, June 8.
Steam as power for flouring mill, Sept. 26.
City directory issued.
1848—Telegram from Chicago, Jan. 15.
1849—Public school building erected.
Paper mill constructed.

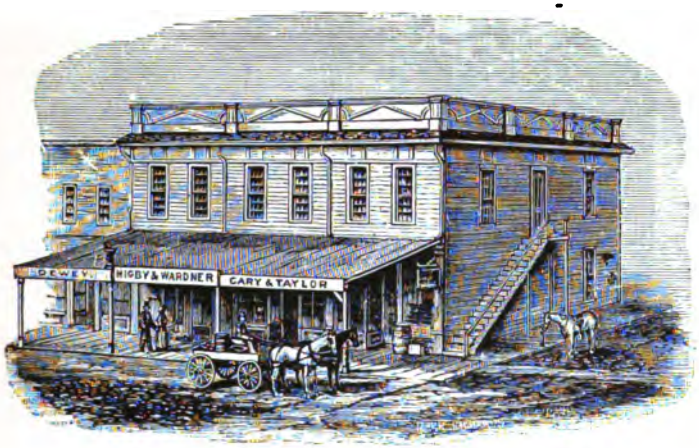
1850—Newspaper printed by steam, July 25.
Locomotive landed from schooner, Sept. 12 and Sept. 25.
German theatrical entertainment, Feb. 11.
1851—Completion of railway to Waukesha, July 4.
Omnibus line established.
1852—Gas used as an illuminant, Nov. 23.
1855—Railway to Chicago and the East opened, May 19.
1856—Shipment of wheat directly to Europe, July 21.
Type foundry established, December.
1857—Railway to the Mississippi completed.
1860—Street railway established, East Side.
1861—Block pavement laid.
1865—Letter carrier system inaugurated.
1869—Fire alarm telegraph put in.
1873—City supplied with water from the river.
1877—Dry dock built.
1878—Public library opened, Feb. 7.
1879—Telephone exchange.
1880—Illuminated by electricity, April 5.
1888—Layton art gallery opened to the public, April 5.
1890—Trolley system of motive power for the street railways.

For years one log cabin stood alone in an almost trackless wilderness. In 1833 Solomon Juneau's soli-

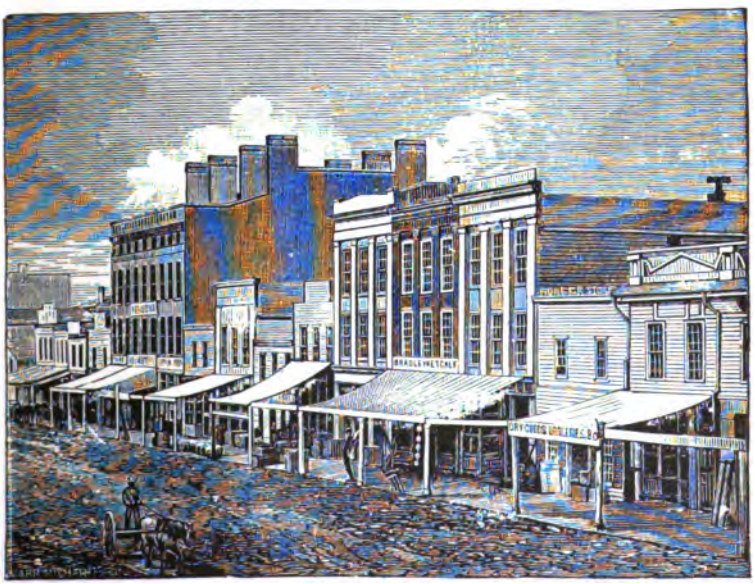
tude was broken by a band of home-seekers, headed by Albert Fowler. They came from Chicago, and in order to reach their destination had to swim rivers in the cold November weather and find their way as best they could. The trip that the ordinary traveler now makes in two hours and a half then took them seven days.

It was not until 1835 that the future metropolis really obtained a fair start. In that year, at a land sale held in Green Bay, the true founders of the city—Solomon Juneau, Byron Kilbourn and George H. Walker—purchased considerable tracts of land in what constitutes the main sections of the east, west and south sides, respectively. Naturally, the three budding villages on the opposite sides of the Milwaukee and Menominee rivers took unto themselves the names of their founders—Juneautown, Kilbourntown, and Walker's Point.

In 1839 a great land sale took place in Milwaukee. Profiting by the experience of other towns, the settlers who had staked out claims organized a "shark committee" to drive out the land speculators who made it a business to attend these sales and squeeze what they could out of settlers as the price of non-interference in bidding for their claims. These claims were marked by means of blazed trees or stakes, which designated the places selected by the owners of the rude shanties erected upon them. While the boundaries were respected among the settlers, the land sharks paid no attention to them, and it was therefore of vital importance to intimidate them. How well the "shark committee" did its duty is attested by the fact that,



SENTINEL BULIDING—MILWAUKEE 1843.



WEST SIDE OF EAST WATER STREET—MILWAUKEE 1844.

although this was declared by the land commissioner the largest and most remarkable sale known in his department, not a single speculator got a single acre of claimed land. Before sundown of the first day $50,000 had been taken in. At the end of seven days $260,000 worth of lands had been disposed of. Before the close of the sale the total had reached $600,000.

The place was now enjoying a boom. In 1843 the Milwaukee "Sentinel" remarked, in a burst of pride: "There is not a village in the United States that has increased with the rapidity of Milwaukee. In the spring of 1834 there was not a house finished in the village. Within two years 250 have been erected, and there are over 4,000 inhabitants here at the present time."

In spite of the jealousy that naturally arose between the different geographical divisions in their efforts to outstrip each other, the trend was toward the dignity of an incorporated municipality, and January 31, 1846, the fact was accomplished. When Milwaukee was incorporated as a city on the last day of January, 1846, there was a population of only 9,655. According to the State census recently taken, a third of a million men, women and children now reside within the eighteen square miles of territory that are embraced between the city limits. Five years previous to the début of Milwaukee as a city the first Federal census ever taken in the then embryo city had shown a count of only 1,712 noses. It is an interesting fact that there are in Wisconsin to-day twenty cities possessing a larger population than Milwaukee had sixty years ago. The population of Mil-

waukee is now larger than was that of any other city in North or South America sixty years ago. Seventy cities in the United States could boast more inhabitants than this city half a century ago. Milwaukee has outstripped all of them but thirteen. In 1850 Milwaukee had jumped from seventy-first to twenty-ninth place, ten years later to twentieth, and now it is fourteenth.

As with the growth of population, so has it been with the city's commercial expansion. In its infancy, no railway line gave Milwaukee communication with the rest of the country. In place of journeying in cannon-ball trains comprising palatial vestibuled palace cars, the intending immigrant made a laborious trip by lake from Buffalo, or a still more tedious journey overland in prairie schooners and stages. Neither was the world kept in touch by means of electrical communication. It was not until 1845 that the first stage between Milwaukee—a two-horse coach—began its daily trips; Milwaukee had been a city five years when the first train of cars pulled out of it. The first telegram was delivered three years after incorporation. Street cars date from 1860, the line extending from Juneau Avenue to Walker's Point bridge. The business growth of Milwaukee has been as marvelous as the beginning was humble. More than two million barrels of beer are brewed here annually. The pioneer brewer started the industry with a copper kettle suspended over a fire from a tripod. When William Sivyer made enough bricks to build a chimney, he created the nucleus of an industry that is now represented by an

annual product of $800,000. John Plankinton's little butcher shop was the beginning of immense packing interests. A year's product now exceeds $4,000,000 in value. So might be enumerated many of the industries that have made of Milwaukee a prosperous community.

It is interesting to note the evolution of Milwaukee commercially. When it became a city, it had not outgrown the rude characteristics of a fur trading center—for, as in all of the northwestern country, the fur trade was the pioneer business. It is a matter of newspaper record that when Milwaukee became a city its chief articles of export were "lard, flour, wheat, pork and furs." Lead was brought overland by wagon from the Mineral Point district. In one year there were shipped nearly two million pounds of lead, shot and copper. According to trustworthy statistics compiled in the early '40's by Increase A. Lapham, the annual imports amounted to $1,805,277 and the exports to $186,177.

In McCabe's Directory of Milwaukee for 1847 (the first city directory) there appears a statement of the exports from Milwaukee. Contrasted with the long list of Milwaukee's present day exports, ranging from a stick of candy to the largest machinery made in the world, the list is interesting: Ashes, 16,250 pounds; furs, 198 packages; rags, 140 tons; pails, 295 dozen; hides, 5,513; wool, 10,562 pounds; broom corn, 107,535 pounds; brooms, 50,425; lead, 25,295 pigs; corn, 1,635 bushels; flour, 15,756 barrels; wheat, 213,448 bushels.

The incorporation of the city did not take place without manifestation of bitterness—the outgrowth of sec-

tional differences which had culminated in the celebrated bridge war, in 1845, when a mob of what would now be known as eastsiders demolished the Spring Street bridge. The vote on incorporation shows that the East ward was against a municipal union, while the West and South wards were almost unanimous for the adoption of the charter.

This was the vote:

	For	Against
East ward.....	182	324
West ward.....	348	1
South ward.....	113	7

The first permanent white settler, Solomon Juneau, was chosen as the first mayor of the city. He ran as a Democrat and was opposed by J. H. Tweedy, Whig, 1,222 votes being cast. Since then the city's mayoral chair has been filled by the following: Horatio N. Wells, Byron Kilbourn, D. A. J. Upham, George H. Walker, Hans Crocker, James B. Cross, William A. Prentiss, H. L. Page, William Pitt Lynde, James M. Brown, Horace Chase, Edward O'Neill, Abner Kirby, John J. Tallmadge, Joseph Phillips, Harrison Ludington, D. G. Hooker, A. R. R. Butler, John Black, Thomas H. Brown, John M. Stowell, Emil Wallber, George W. Peck, P. J. Somers, John C. Koch, Wm. Rauschenberger, David A. Rose. It is a curious fact that all of the three founders of Milwaukee served the city of Milwaukee as mayor—Juneau, Kilbourn and Walker.

The common council of Milwaukee, when it came

into existence, was a small body compared to what it is now. There were five wards, and each ward had three representatives. In 1858 a law was passed making the city legislature a double-headed arrangement—a Board of Councilors, consisting of two persons from each ward and Board of Aldermen comprising a representation of one from each ward. Thirty-two years ago the two bodies were merged into one, and for many years each ward had three representatives in the council. As the wards multiplied, the body grew so bulky that the representation was reduced to two from each ward. In 1882, with thirteen wards, there were thirty-nine aldermen; now, with twenty-three wards, the council has a membership of forty-six.

Whatever spiritual consolation the people of Milwaukee of 1846 had was derived by worship in just thirteen churches, distributed among ten denominations. The church-goer of to-day can choose among 141 churches. The number of denominations represented in Milwaukee has not greatly increased, but the number of edifices erected shows a great gain, equivalent to the increase in population. The small frame houses that did service forty and fifty years ago have disappeared or been converted to other uses, while in their places have risen such stately and costly edifices as St. Paul's Immanuel, Gesu, Trinity, All Saints', St. James, Calvary and many others. The thirteen churches of 1846 probably did not cost to exceed six or seven thousand dollars. A conservative estimate places a value of $5,000,000 on church property to-day.

It is said that there are more lodges of secret societies in Milwaukee in proportion to population than in any other city in the United States. Secret societies have certainly thriven wonderfully there. In 1846 the sum total comprised one Masonic lodge and two of Odd Fellows, with an Odd Fellow encampment. Excluding the clubs and social organizations, which flourish to the number of several hundred, there are 328 secret and benevolent societies now.

CHAPTER II

Industrial Expansion

IN the fur trade Wisconsin found its first wealth-producing possibility; next lead mining assumed primary importance, followed by agricultural development and the conversion of forest resources into wealth; to-day the leading industries are those which are represented by manufactured products.

The relative rank of Wisconsin as a manufacturing State, in a comparison with her sister States, is as follows: Lumber and timber products, first; cheese, butter and other dairy products, second; malt, third; agricultural implements, malt liquors, leather, fourth; paper and wood pulp, fifth; sash, doors, blinds and other planing mill products, sixth; foundry and machine shop products, and carriages and wagons, seventh; men's clothing as a factory product, furniture, and flouring and grist mill products, eighth; iron and steel, ninth; boots and shoes, tenth; car and general shop construction, eleventh; printing and publishing newspapers and periodicals, and wholesale slaughtering and packing of meats, twelfth.

On the basis of value of products, the leading industries of Wisconsin to-day rank in the following order:

1. Lumber and timber products.
2. Flouring and grist mill products.
3. Foundry and machine shop products.
4. Cheese, butter and condensed milk, factory product.
5. Leather products.
6. Malt liquors.

7. Iron and steel.
8. Paper and wood pulp.
9. Furniture.
10. Planing mill products.

As is well shown by a statistical bulletin issued by the census bureau in 1904, the remarkable growth of manufactures in Wisconsin is to be attributed to an abundant supply of materials and excellent market facilities. Manufacturing is not concentrated in a few localities, but is distributed throughout the State. Six large rivers, the Menominee, St. Croix, Chippewa, Wisconsin, Fox and Wolf, with many smaller streams, and nearly two thousand fresh-water lakes in the northern part of the State, afford enormous waterpower as yet only partially developed. On the western boundary of the State are 250 miles of navigable rivers, while the Great Lakes extend for more than 400 miles along the northern and eastern borders. On the shores of Lake Michigan and Green Bay are eleven important manufacturing cities, all accessible to lake-going vessels; and the cities of Ashland and Superior on Lake Superior are large and growing manufacturing centers. Wisconsin has 6,962 miles of railroads, which have contributed to the development of agriculture and manufactures.

Probably the best indication of the importance of the wage-earning class is afforded by the fact that while fifty years ago they represented but 2 per cent. of the population, at this time they approximate 10 per cent. In an estimate made by State authorities in 1905, the

value of manufactured products for the preceding year is placed at $405,000,000, the relative rank of the several industries being slightly at variance with those assigned by the Federal census. In essential particulars they agree. The growth of some of these industries and the decline of the most important one, are worthy of more extended mention.

LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS.

The lumber industries of Wisconsin employ a capital that represents two-fifths of the entire manufacturing capital of the State. By far the larger part of this is employed in timber and saw-mill interests, only about one-fourth being vested in planing mill and other processes. It has been said of the forests industries of Wisconsin that "they built every foot of railroad and wagon road, every town, school and church, and cleared half of the improved land in North Wisconsin." Notwithstanding the great decrease in the output which the forests have contributed during the past years, as compared with the decade preceding, the manufacture of lumber and timber continues to be the most important industry in the State. Indeed, Wisconsin leads every other State in the Union in this particular, the annual value of the product being one-sixth of the total value of the products of the State, while the number of wage-earners is about one-seventh of the entire number of artisans and laborers. Ten years ago there were 40,000 persons employed in this industry, nearly twice as

many as at the present time. Despite this great decrease, the amount received in wages is not materially less—$9,500,000 as against $10,500,000. There have been great changes in methods, and these have greatly influenced not only the output, but the wage-earning ability of the men.

Working time is shorter than of old. From daylight to dark used to be the rule, fifteen or sixteen hours to the day. Now the average day is eight hours. This shortening of time has its bearing on the output. The best mills now saw only about 1,000 feet a day to each man, while years ago it was not uncommon for two men to saw 4,000 to 5,000 feet on the old "muley," and an average of 2,000 feet to the man was maintained. In the old days pay was largely in orders on the stores operated by the lumbering firms. This system has now gone out of use. Few of the companies own stores, and even these pay in cash. Mill men are now paid every week, and they get about the same pay as ten years ago. The "sash-saw" of early days was succeeded by the "muley." This was a thick, heavy saw, and could be driven at an immense speed, although with a corresponding kerf or waste. About three-sixteenths of the log was wasted by the old "muley." The circular saw, cutting about the same kerf, was much more rapid. The "gang" came in about the same time, consisting of a number of saws hung at fixed distances, according to the desired thickness of the cut. Gangs run slowly, but they eat up a whole log at once, thus obviating the necessity of gigging back for a new cut. To-day the best saw mills are

LOAD OF LOGS SCALING 15470 FEET OF LUMBER—BLACK CREEK

equipped with the band saw, which is very rapid and cuts a small kerf, about half as much as the "muley." This is a saving of over 9 per cent. If applied to all white pine cut in Wisconsin from 1872 to 1905, it would have increased the cut nearly a billion feet.

If all the white pine timber cut in Wisconsin from 1873 to 1905 could be reduced to boards an inch thick and twelve inches wide the boards would cover a roadway almost half a mile wide, extending around the earth. Taking as a basis figures compiled by the Northwestern Lumbermen, and considering as belonging to Wisconsin one-half of the cut on bordering waters, the St. Croix, Mississippi and Menominee, the total Wisconsin cut of white pine during a quarter century period was estimated to amount to 52,680,680,190 feet, or 9,979,295 miles—2,495 times the earth's circumference. Any estimate of the cut of pine previous to 1873 would be mere guess work, although on some streams, notably the Menominee and Wolf, accurate figures have been compiled by the boom companies for forty years or more. By combining the estimates of conservative men in the various sections, however, the cut of early years is placed high enough to render one safe in saying that the total cut of white pine in Wisconsin approximates 60,000,000,000 feet.

Figures as to the extent of the white pine still standing do not admit of mathematical deductions, but the approaching exhaustion of the supply is apparent. On some of the waters pine is practically exhausted. The increase in value of pine has led to a closer scrutiny of

land rejected in earlier years, and timber is now being cut which old estimaters refused to consider.

Some years ago the pine was cut from a million or more acres of Wisconsin Central land, and the operator made a good profit. A few years later another man went on to the same land and operated also with a good profit. And a little later a third man repeated the operation. Here was land from which all pine was supposed to have been cut by the first operator, profitably logged afterward at intervals by two men. It was current gossip that the last man cleared as much money as the first one, owing, of course, to the increase in the value of pine.

There is a great difference in the value of timber land, that being most profitable which yields the largest percentage of best quality of logs. What is known as a "premium forty" will sometimes cut 2,000,000 feet of pine. The timber at the head waters of Oconto River is said to have been the best in the State. Large quantities of Oconto lumber have been exported to England.

The lumber region of Wisconsin divides naturally into four districts, that drained by the Menominee and neighboring streams, the Wolf River country, the Wisconsin River pineries, and the northwestern part of the State tributary to the Black, Chippewa and St. Croix rivers. Of all these streams the Wolf is probably the best for logging, its upper waters being steady with rapid flow. The Wisconsin and Chippewa are difficult and hazardous streams for loggers, flowing swiftly over numerous rapids. Since the introduction of the rail-

road these natural divisions have been subdivided and readjusted, and to-day it is almost impossible to obtain figures for a comparison of output. Up to 1876 most of the logs on the Wisconsin were sent down the river in rafts to markets on the Mississippi. With a good stage of water it took twenty-four days to reach St. Louis. The trip was perilous and the expense equaled the original cost of the timber.

The diminution of the supply of white pine has led to the cutting of hemlock and other woods at one time deemed of no value. The cutting of hard woods has become an important industry. According to a forestry report, dealing with the northern section of the State, the pine is largely cut both from the mixed forests and in the pinery; entire uncut or virgin townships scarcely exist, and in every county, large and small, what are known as "pine slashings" or "stump prairies" are met. In the hardwoods the oak and basswood, and to some extent the elm, have been culled over large tracts, and entire counties have been logged over. Besides this, the hardwood and, still more, the hemlock, especially on all lighter soils where the pine predominated, have suffered from fire, and large areas are entirely fire killed. Many, if not most, of the swamps have been burned over and present all stages from the dense green swamp forest to a bewildering tangle of charred masses of dead and down timber. It is estimated that about 45 per cent. of the total area is cut-over land, most of which is also burned over and largely waste.

The value of the forests in tempering the rigors of a

northern climate, and in maintaining a more uniform water flow by regulating drainage conditions, is now fully realized. Fox River is falling, the "June freshets," formerly a regular phenomenon of all the driving streams of the area, no longer occur; hundreds of small swamps have become fields and meadows without a foot of ditching, and miles of corduroy roads and roadways, paved with poles and logs, remain as unused relics, reminders of a moister era. Somewhat tardily the State has awakened to the necessities of the situation, seeking by means of a commission to effect the reforestration of the waste spaces once densely covered with an uninterrupted growth of forest.

PAPER AND PULP

The paper, fiber and pulp mill interests of Wisconsin represent an investment of nearly $20,000,000. Twenty-five years ago the only mill in operation in the State was equipped for about $30,000. The daily capacity of the Wisconsin paper and pulp mills is 2,500,000 pounds. In the list of thirty-four States producing paper Wisconsin, in capacity, stand fifth, New York being first and Maine second. Almost every kind of paper is made in the State, the largest item being "book and news," 1,000,000 pounds. In chemical fiber and wood pulp the Wisconsin mills can produce something more than 1,000,000 pounds daily. The value of Wisconsin's paper product more than doubled in the decade from

1885 to 1895. According to the Federal census of 1900 it amounted to $10,895,000.

Paper manufacture includes two distinct divisions, pulp making and the converting of pulp into paper of all sorts and sizes. In many Wisconsin mills both of these operations are carried on under one roof. The paper industry was attracted to Wisconsin by the abundance, cheapness and good quality of the wood suitable for the manufacture of pulp. Poplar was the first wood utilized, but now spruce is in the ascendant. Spruce logs six inches or more in diameter at the top or small end are used, but they must be comparatively free from knots.

All the pulp mills of Fox River valley combine in the purchase of logs, of which 100,000 cords are used annually. The conduct of this branch of the business is in the hands of a joint manager, who buys for all the mills and apportions its share to each. The wood is delivered at the mills in "four-foot" lengths.

In 1846 Livingston & Garland built the first paper mill in Wisconsin, at the junction of the Milwaukee and Menominee rivers in Milwaukee. This mill was run by steam and made printing and wrapping papers. It ceased operations in 1851. Noonan & McNab ran mills at Humboldt, on the Milwaukee River, from 1850 to 1867, and also on the Menominee River, the latter mill having been erected by Ernest Prieger in 1855. Another mill was built in 1864 in Milwaukee by Alexander Mills. After running about two years one of its boilers exploded and wrecked the plant. A little later the special machinery was shipped to Marseilles, Ill.

The first mill in the valley of the Fox was Richmond's, started in Appleton in 1853, and producing wrapping paper. Between 1850 and 1875 paper mills were started at Waterford, Beloit, Sparta and Fond du Lac.

Paper is now manufactured in the following Wisconsin counties: Dunn, Fond du Lac, Lincoln, Marinette, Monroe, Oconto, Outagamie, Racine, Rock, Winnebago and Wood. The centers are in Outagamie and Winnebago counties. They produce nearly five-sixths of the total amount in the State. Many of the paper mills operate their own sulphite plants. At Appleton and Kaukauna there are plants that produce nothing but sulphite.

The valleys of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers constitute two distinct paper-making districts. The mills along Fox River were the first to begin operations. The story of growth is illustrated by the expansion of what is now the largest company in Wisconsin employed in this industry. In 1872 this company started a mill at Neenah, making print and book paper entirely from rags, two tons per day. This mill has run continuously ever since, and now has a daily run of eight tons. Two years later another mill was purchased. In 1879 a mill was started at Appleton, making wood manilla. Then came two others, also at Appleton, both running on super-calendered book grades. In 1884 another mill was built at Neenah for the production of high-grade manilla and No. 1 print. A seventh mill, fitted for specialties in book and colors, was built at Appleton in 1887. Two years later a large three-machine print mill, with ground

wood and sulphite departments, was constructed at Kimberly. In 1891 this firm capped the climax by building at De Pere "the finest and largest paper mill in the West, fitted to make high-grade, loft-dried writing paper." It has never been shut down a week for want of orders, demonstrating that fine writing paper can be made as good in the Western as in the Eastern States. This company operates fourteen mills and has a daily output of 150 tons. Twenty-five years ago their single mill produced two tons daily. The mills on the Wisconsin and Marinette rivers are now turning out a large product, but the Fox River valley still remains the chief seat of this industry. They are all equipped with the most modern machinery.

As in other lines of manufacture, methods have changed considerably in the last few years. Acid plants used to be locked up, and high-priced men from Germany were supposed to be the only ones who could operate them with success. Even the employers were locked out. The operation is so simple that the men veiled it in mystery to keep their pay up. It does not require great skill, and employees are now paid $1.50 a day for the work that used to command fancy prices. As elsewhere, Wisconsin paper manufacturers have sought to overcome the difficulties due to the use of black rags, and have expended fortunes in chemical experiments.

CHEESE, BUTTER AND CONDENSED MILK.

New York is the only State whose dairy product

exceeds that of Wisconsin in value, as reckoned in millions of dollars. According to the latest available statistics, while the number of establishments and amount of capital invested in this State have somewhat more than doubled, the output has more than trebled in value. The annual factory product of condensed milk, cheese and butter represents a total exceeding $20,000,000.

A single county in Wisconsin produces enough Swiss cheese to supply every man, woman and child in the State with two and one-half pounds thereof. According to the census statistics, there are in Wisconsin about a thousand creameries, producing 75,000,000 pounds of butter per year, and 1,600 cheese factories, with an annual output of 55,000,000 pounds. The great butter-producing counties are Dane, with an annual production of 5,500,000 pounds; Walworth, 5,000,000 pounds; Jefferson, 4,000,000 pounds, and Rock, Trempealeau, Dodge and Fond du Lac each producing a little less than 3,000,000 pounds.

Green County leads in the production of cheese with 7,750,000 pounds, and Dodge produces 6,000,000 pounds. Fourteen counties in the State produce no cheese, while butter is made in all but two.

In addition to making large quantities of full cream cheese, Wisconsin is also a great fancy cheese State. Green County leads the State in cheese production, and almost every pound of its output is either Swiss, limburger or brick cheese. Fancy cheese making is not an old industry in Wisconsin; twenty years ago but little fancy cheese was made. A few men in the valleys of

A RELIC OF TERRITORIAL DAYS

This press, now the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society, was used in Milwaukee, Racine, Janesville, Delavan, Geneva Lake, and Evansville.

Washington and New Glarus made cheese from the product of small herds of from ten to thirty cows. But they were not in it as a business, conducting cheese making only as a by-work in addition to the regular labor of the farm. There was no regular system, either of making or selling; there were no selected cows; there was no skilled labor. The cheese made was small in size, and various in quality and price.

The farmer's main work was an attempt to raise spring wheat, alternating with corn and oats. Little fertilizer was used, and rotation of crops was little known. The exhaustion of the land increased the weeds and noxious insects, and by 1870 deplorable conditions ensued. The vigorous young men sought homes further West. The newspapers were filled with notices of sheriff's sales and foreclosures, and each effort of the farmer seemed to land him deeper in the mire.

It was at this dark time that cheese making began with the opening of two factories in the northern part of the county. The proprietor found difficulty in inducing the farmers to begin the industry, and he was obliged to give material assistance. He was a Swiss cheese maker, who had been making limburger cheese in New York State. He was backed by a large Chicago cheese dealer. A year's trial demonstrated that the climate, grass, water and people were favorable. The results were encourging, and year by year the business has expanded until now the State produces about 10,000,000 pounds. The expansion of the dairy business has changed all the conditions. The farmers, instead of

being poor, have money in the bank. Lands have increased in value materially, and foreclosures are almost unknown in the dairy districts.

Wisconsin fancy cheeses are of three kinds—Swiss, limburger and brick. Swiss cheeses are made in round loaves, rarely weighing less than sixty pounds and more often reaching 200. The weight does not affect the height of the cheese, which is rarely in excess of five inches, but the circumference is not infrequently three feet.

Creameries are increasing in number, and year by year more farmers are giving up butter making on the farm. It is an age of specialties, and the farmer realizes that his profit is larger if he sends his milk to a factory to be handled on the best of machinery by an expert than if he works it himself. The model creamery of the world is located in Wisconsin. The machinery, operated by electricity, is all nickel-plated; the walls of the factory room are marble and tile; the vats are lined with porcelain or nickel; the floors are cement, and all the benches or tables are marble. There are ample arrangements for flushing the floors, and everything about the room corresponds in neatness, even the operatives being attractive in suits of white linen.

The Babcock milk test, now used in every part of the world where dairying is carried on with intelligence, was invented in Wisconsin. The Babcock test has now been critically studied by more than a score of able chemists in England and on the Continent, and thus far not one who has made a careful study has failed to pronounce

it entirely accurate. This test is a process by which the amount of butter fat in the milk is determined, and wherever it is properly used the farmer receives pay according to the richness of the milk, and not according to its weight or bulk. It is a perfect safeguard against skimmed or watered milk. Prof. S. M. Babcock, of the agricultural experiment station at Madison, gave this process to the dairying world, and from him it takes its name.

The efforts of a few men who organized the State Dairymen's Association has been largely instrumental in stimulating the dairy industry. They began their agitation in 1870, led by Hiram Smith and W. D. Hoard, the latter of whom became Governor twenty years later. At that time there were but six cheese factories in the State. These few men held numerous meetings to educate farmers to a realization of their opportunities. In 1872 a call was issued for a State meeting at Watertown. The attendance was limited to six men. They were Chester Hazen, of Brandon; Stephen Faville, Henry Drake, and W. D. Hoard, of Lake Mills; H. F. Dousman, of Dousman, and Walter S. Greene, of Milton. Chester Hazen was elected president, W. D. Hoard secretary, and W. S. Greene treasurer. The first annual meeting was held in Watertown. In the meantime a dairy board of trade had been organized at Watertown, at which the cheese makers would gather and strive to promote the sale of Wisconsin cheese. This proved very slow work. There was no export trade from the State—nothing but a local demand. It cost

2½ cents to send a pound of cheese to New York in common cars, and when it reached there it was not such as was wanted. Wisconsin cheese makers in the main were lacking in judgment. They had no special training, and there was a serious ignorance existing. Shipping in common cars was impossible in hot weather, as the cheese would melt on the way. The total cheese production of the State was about 3,000,000 pounds per year. In 1874 the cheese makers secured from the transportation lines concessions as to rates to New York and iced-car facilities. A new era dawned. "The total production of 1872," said ex-Governor Hoard in an interview some time since, "was $1,000,000. Now the annual production of the State reaches $35,000,000. The amount of capital interested is fully $150,000,000, while behind this industry are from 130,000 to 140,000 voters, who zealously work for its interests and carefully watch the legislation enacted for its protection.

"The Wisconsin Dairymen's Association has been the most powerful influence for the advancement of the industry. It was due to this association that farmers' institutes were organized. The association stood behind the movement for the experiment station and the establishment of the Wisconsin Dairy School. It demanded and backed up legislation for a Dairy and Food Commission. It rescued the State from the oleomargarine difficulty into which it had fallen, and secured the passage of the law prohibiting the making or sale of filled cheese and oleomargarine colored in semblance of butter.

"The association has been fortunate in having been directed by about a dozen men who have always worked together harmoniously and without jealousy, always refusing to subordinate the true interests of the State, as manifested in the dairy business, to the advancement of any individual's political fortunes. In point of dairy progress and education, and quality and character of its dairy products, Wisconsin stands second to no State in the Union."

MALT LIQUORS

The production of beer in Wisconsin nearly doubled in the decade from 1885 to 1895, and more than doubled in the decade ending in 1905. The brewing and malting interests of the State have a nominal capital of nearly $20,000,000, one company alone being capitalized at $10,000,000. These interests represent a total investment of more than $35,000,000.

The magnitude of this business in Milwaukee is known everywhere. The local brewers employ nearly 3,000 men in the city, and perhaps as many more in their branches, which are distributed all over the world. They pay in wages, locally, $1,500,000. The Milwaukee breweries represent an investment of $33,300,000. They ship daily about one hundred cars loaded with beer, and pay annually nearly $900,000 as freight charges. They bring into the city from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 every year.

The brewing interests of Wisconsin are not confined to Milwaukee. La Crosse has two large breweries, each employing a capital of more than $300,000, and a third nearly as large. Madison, Green Bay, Manitowoc, Sheyboygan and Fond du Lac each support breweries of respectable size. Even the small towns away from the railroads and the beaten line of traffic have their local breweries, often the leading industry of the community. In the spring of 1840 Milwaukee's first brewery was built on the lake shore at the foot of Huron street. Richard G. Owens, William Pawlett and John Davis were the owners, and the first barley brewed in the city was bought by Mr. Owens in Michigan City. All that he could buy amounted to only 130 bushels, but he brought it across the lake in a small sloop called the "Ranger." In July the first brew was made, the original brew-kettle being a copper-lined wooden box. Ale, porter and beer were brewed, but ale was the principal product. Four years later the copper-lined box was superseded by a copper kettle, which was made in Milwaukee, and increased the capacity of the brewery to forty barrels. Mr. Owens continued in the business until 1864. The competition of lager beer was too strong for the ale brewery, and in 1880 it was discontinued. The Blatz brewery was started in 1846, and Mr. Valentin Blatz began in 1851. The Schlitz establishment began in 1849, but Joseph Schlitz was not connected with it until 1856. In 1842 Jacob Best began operations.

Many distinct operations are involved in the making

of beer. But the business has divided naturally into two departments, which are often conducted separately under different management. These are malting and brewing proper. Whether carried on as a department of a brewery or as an independent business, the process of malting is the same.

Milwaukee and Southern Wisconsin generally are in a favored location for the development of malting interests. Wisconsin is second only to California among the States in barley production, and excellent water is to be found anywhere in the State. The malting season in this climate runs from September 1 to June 1, and at critical times the maltster can count on comparatively even temperature. Wisconsin barley is usually of good quality. Stained barley will not make bright beer, which is the kind that meets the greatest demand. Wisconsin barley is usually bright and unstained. Malting establishments are scattered through the State, both as departments of breweries and as independent concerns. Milwaukee is the center of malting interests in the United States, with an annual capacity approximating 10,000,000 bushels. The breweries manufacturing wholly or in part the malt that they use can produce 3,000,000 bushels; the Milwaukee companies produce in the aggregate nearly 6,000,000 bushels. Some idea of the extent of the "country" malting interests of the State, as compared with those in Milwaukee, may be obtained from the fact that Milwaukee receives annually by rail from the country maltsters about 2,000,000 bushels of malt. Although Milwaukee is eminent as a brewing center less

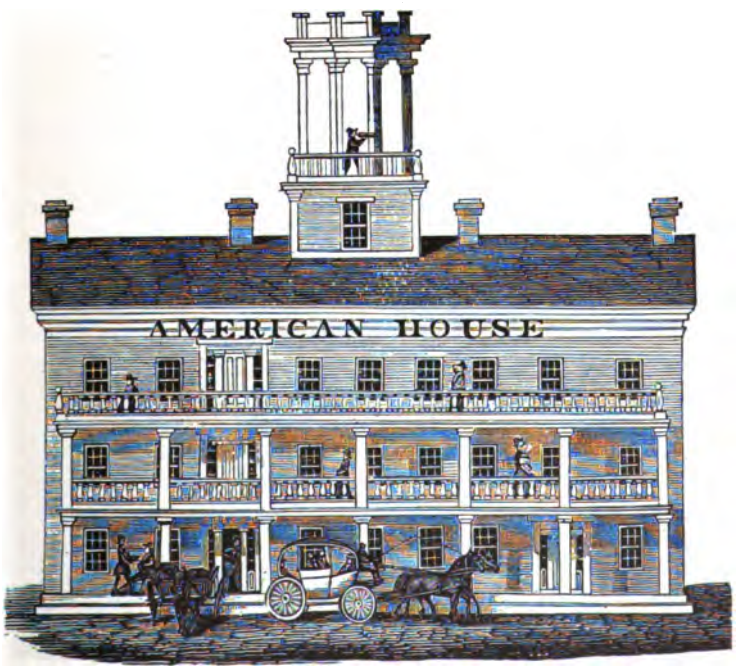
than one-half of this amount was used in the local breweries. Wisconsin malt to the extent of 5,000,000 bushels is distributed from Milwaukee.

Wisconsin grows only a small quantity of hops. The receipts of hops in Milwaukee amount annually to 10,000 bales, of which one-half comes from the East, and about one-third of the bales from the West, chiefly from the Pacific Coast. The receipts from the East are grown in New York State, excepting a small amount of imported hops from Germany. The hops are packed in bales, weighing about 200 pounds each. They are stored in cold storage houses, and are kept cool by directly expanding ammonia.

The revenue tax paid by the breweries in the Milwaukee district amounts to more than two and one-half millions of dollars. The internal revenue collector's office maintained in Milwaukee transacts more than half its business with the breweries. In local taxes the brewers pay about $200,000, and they pay annually nearly $50,000 for the use of city water.

Some of the largest beer-bottling establishments in the country are maintained in connection with the Milwaukee breweries. In one of them about 1,000 employees are at work in various capacities. Hand-cut corks, imported from Spain, are used in the large breweries. It is estimated that the Milwaukee breweries use eighty carloads of cork in a year, one company alone using thirty-one carloads. The Milwaukee breweries use 50,000,000 corks each year, and it is estimated that 900 people are given employment in Spain in their production and transportation.

OLD COTTAGE INN—MILWAUKEE 1836.



OLD AMERICAN HOUSE—MILWAUKEE.

A development of the brewing industry, which originated in Milwaukee, is known as the "pipe-line system," connecting the brewery and the bottling house. Previous to 1890 internal revenue regulations prohibited any direct connections between the two departments. Repeated appeals finally resulted in a modification of these regulations, and one of the large companies at once prepared to operate a pipe-line system. A tunnel five feet wide by six and one-half feet high was made, over 200 feet long, connecting the brewery cellar and the bottling house. Through this tunnel pipes for conveying the beer were laid, as well as refrigerating pipes for regulating the temperature in summer. The beer is forced through block-tin-lined copper pipes to receiving tanks, these being cone-shaped and so placed that the beer runs toward the outlet. Inlet and outlet pipes are sealed by the gauger. Upon payment of the revenue tax the government agent releases the lock on the outlet pipe, and the beer is forced to the filling machines.

In addition to the men employed in the departments, which belong purely to the manufacture of beer, each brewery has an army of men at work in carpenter and blacksmith shops, millwright and machine shops, and in the vast stables. Saloon fixtures are made and repaired, signs painted, paint made, horses shoed, patterns devised, all by brewery employees. Their men make awnings and wagon covers, and a squad of whitewashers work constantly, keeping the storage cellars clean.

One Milwaukee wagon maker has furnished more than 1,500 wagons to a single brewery in twenty years.

These wagons are used in Milwaukee and at the various branch houses. The local breweries have distributing stations and storage depots at advantageous points all over the world. Thus, one brewery has more than forty branch houses, and over 600 special agents who devote themselves entirely to the sale of the beer made by the Milwaukee house. Milwaukee bottled beer is sold in South and Central America and in the West Indies, while in Asia, Africa and Australia it successfully competes for public favor with the European product.

LEATHER

But three States outrank Wisconsin in the manufacture of leather, and in Milwaukee are located what are claimed to be the largest tanneries in the world. Imagine a continuous train of cars on the Chicago & North-Western system, extending from six miles south of Chicago to six miles north of Bayfield, Wisconsin. This train passes through Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Appleton, Rhinelander and Ashland. Each car is forty feet long and contains twenty-five head of stock. This immense trainload represents the number of hides annually tanned in Wisconsin, more than 2,000,000. About 3,500,000 calfskins are tanned in the State, in addition to the hides.

The output of Wisconsin's tanneries each year approximates $20,000,000. About $9,000,000 worth of Wisconsin leather is sold in Boston annually, and the

amount exported is placed at $1,500,000. The capital invested is about $18,000,000. Employment is furnished to more than 5,000 men, who receive about $2,000,000 annually for their services. Over 100,000 cords of hemlock bark are used in Wisconsin tanneries each year.

Years ago Salem and Peabody, in Massachusetts, were the centers of the manufacture of "upper leather." It took at least six months to tan this variety, the hides being laid away in layers of ground bark most of the time. One split was taken off. The present custom is to split the hides when green, and the sides are handled in strong liquor, the whole operation taking from three days to a month. Most of the tanneries in the Salem district are now in ruins, and "an eyesore to those who dwell in their vicinity." The seat of the industry of tanning upper leather has passed in a large measure to the West. The Wisconsin tanners are famous for grain and buff leather, as well as for satin, diced and other fine finishes.

As illustrating the diversified output of a Wisconsin tannery, the following list is taken from an advertisement: "We manufacture the following kinds of leather: Glove leathers in calf, kip and horsehides, cordovan vamps, dongola tanned muleskins, horsehide in imitation kangaroo, kangaroo calf, dongola calf, Russian calf in various colors, patent leather, enamel leather, union sole, acid and nonacid hemlock sole, harness, line and strap, colored and russet skirtings, soft tanned sole, legging leather, black and russet collar, kangaroo grain, satin-

finish grain, English grain, oil grain, veal kips, calf skins and wax and union upper, flesh and grain splits, flexible splits, shoulder splits, etc."

For a good many years "Milwaukee oil grain" was as standard as sugar. It was quoted at the head of the list in all trade journals. Shoes made from it commanded a higher price than those made from any other grain. Imitations flooded the market, and as a protection to themselves and to the public the tanners issued trade-marked labels which were placed upon the heels of shoes made from their leather. This protection was continued until the time of the tanners' strike, when the retailers of shoes requested its discontinuance.

Wisconsin calfskins have always borne a high reputation, and at the present time only two or three outside tanneries grade with those of Wisconsin in the tanning of Russia calf and other colored stocks. These leathers are finished in twenty-two shades, more than three times the colors of the rainbow, and atmospheric pressure may produce variations in some of the shades.

Outside of Milwaukee nearly all of the Wisconsin tanneries produce hemlock sole, although the products of the Sheboygan and Fond du Lac tanneries follow closely upon those of the Milwaukee houses.

The excellent quality and plentiful supply of hemlock bark has attracted to Wisconsin some of the large concerns which had their origin in New England. One tannery, at Mellen, employs a thousand men, and has purchased sufficient hemlock to last for thirty years. It is estimated that not less than 600,000 tons of hemlock bark are growing on trees tributary to this tannery.

One large Wisconsin firm has reached the half-century mark of its existence. In announcing this fact to its customers, some facts and figures were used that are worth reproducing as indication of the immense growth of this industry in the State: "Fifty years ago this country was so rough and new that bark necessary for tanning could be fairly carried by the workmen from the forest to the mill, but now to feed this immense system of tanneries it requires over 30,000 cords of bark annually, carried hundreds of miles by a small fleet of vessels kept busy nearly all the months of navigation. In addition to the oak and hemlock bark consumed annually, Gambier, an East Indian product, is also used to the enormous amount of 2,000,000 pounds per year. Oils and greases, weighing nearly 1,500,000 pounds, must be purchased annually to help the development of the leather which bears our trade mark, and is now so famous for its honesty and excellence.

"It takes annually over 400,000 cattle hides, 450,000 skins, and 60,000 horse hides to keep the five big tanneries running, and more than 1,300 men are kept busy handling this vast amount of material.

"From a modest beginning, fifty years ago, our company has grown so rapidly that instead of using two cords of bark per week it uses now 100 cords per day. Instead of working in fifty hides every six days the great vats must now be ready for 3,000 hides and 1,500 skins every twenty-four hours."

It is estimated that about 50 per cent. of the Wisconsin tannery product is sold in Boston, although some

estimates increase these figures to 60 per cent. On the basis of the more conservative estimate, this means that Wisconsin sends to Boston annually nearly $9,000,000 worth of leather. Boston is the center of the shoe and leather industries of the United States. At least 90 per cent. of the shoes worn in the country are contracted for in Boston, and nearly all of the large shoe houses maintain either buying or selling offices in that city. Leather is sold where shoes are made, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays the buyers flock into the city from the factory towns in Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire. The leather dealers must be there to meet them. The Wisconsin tanners are leaders in their line of trade. Hence it is not surprising to find five of them maintaining their own stores in Boston, while the rest of the Wisconsin firms are represented by brokers.

In recent years Milwaukee has exported considerable leather. Twenty years ago the export trade was too small to be considered, but freights were pretty high in those days. The export trade of to-day is generally placed at about one-sixth of the total Milwaukee production. A large proportion of this amount goes to Frankfort, Germany, but Wisconsin leather is used in Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Germany, England and France. Some leather goes to South America, but not a large amount, as the factories there are few in number. The leather for export is sold to European dealers, delivered in New York. Nearly all of it is bought outright before shipment, very little being consigned. Wisconsin tanners do not have to go to

Europe to sell their goods, but the buyers come to Milwaukee to make purchases. After connections are well established the orders are cabled.

Aside from the men employed within the tannery walls, this industry holds interests that furnish employment to thousands. The Milwaukee tanneries alone use 100,000 cords of hemlock bark in a single year. It is estimated that the yield of five large trees is about a cord, so that at least 500,000 trees are felled annually to supply Milwaukee tanneries with bark. In the old days much of the bark was bought from farmers who were clearing their land, but the supplying of this commodity is now a business by itself, employing choppers, peelers, laborers and teams all the year, and stevedores and vessel crews in the season for navigation. Some tanneries own bark lands and peel the bark themselves. When the leather trust was formed a few years ago, among its properties was bark land, valued at $19,000,000. The Wisconsin leather sold for local consumption is used chiefly in the manufacture of shoes. In Milwaukee there are thirteen shoe factories. In the State outside of Milwaukee there are about as many more. Until the last few years, Western-made shoes were of the heavy, cheap sort, but to-day some of the goods turned out by some of the Wisconsin factories are as high in grade as the product of the finest Eastern factories.

IRON AND STEEL

A combined capital of more than $25,000,000 is invested in iron and steel and in foundry and machine shop products. In the manufacture of agricultural implements $15,000,000 is invested, while the making of carriages and wagons employs $8,000,000. These industries are related in some degree, as iron and steel enter largely into their product. The four branches, collectively, employ a capital of nearly $50,000,000. The leading counties wherein iron is manufactured into articles of commerce are Milwaukee, Racine and Rock.

Lake Superior ores are of the richest known in metallic iron, running from 40 per cent. to 65 per cent. In the Southern States the ores mined are leaner than this, and in Europe ores running as low as 30 per cent. are mined.

Wisconsin blast furnaces are located at Bay View, Mayville and Ashland. The producing capacity in the State of pig iron is about as follows: Coke furnaces, 215,000 tons, valued at $2,500,000; charcoal furnaces, 35,000 tons, valued at $450,000.

Wisconsin iron and steel enters into the local manufacture of engines and machinery, structural iron and steel, stoves and furnaces, drawn steel pipe, hardware, pumps, tools, horseshoes, nuts, washers, nails and wire.

Engines made in Wisconsin are distributed all over the world. In the iron and steel center of the United States —Pittsburg—a million dollars' worth of Wisconsin engines are now in operation. Wisconsin engines are scat-

tered from Boston to San Francisco. They furnish the power for factories and mines in South Africa and Japan. They are made in all sizes up to 4,000 horse power, and the most exacting special conditions are overcome by their makers. The plant of a single concern occupies twenty-four acres of land, and its annual product is valued at $7,000,000.

Wisconsin's machinery product includes special machines for nearly every branch of manufacture. The State is pre-eminent in the manufacture of brewing, malting and milling machinery. Sawmill machinery of the highest grade is made in Milwaukee, Fond du Lac and Marinette. Electrical, ice and mining machinery is also manufactured extensively.

In the value of its product Wisconsin stands fourth in the manufacture of agricultural implements, with an annual output of $8,000,000. Of a thousand establishments in this line in the United States, more than fifty are located in Wisconsin. Though but four of these are in Milwaukee, they employ one-fifth of the capital and manufacture more than one-fourth of the total output of the State. Harvesters, threshing machines, plows, harrows, feed-cutters and hay-forks are among the machines manufactured. One Wisconsin harvester company ranks third in the country.

Wisconsin produces nearly 10,000 wagons, carriages and sleighs annually. Racine manufactures more than two-fifths of them. Milwaukee County ranks second, and Dane County third. Nearly all the factories are devoted to the manufacture of heavy farm-wagons and

the better class of delivery wagons for special purposes, but light carriages of all kinds are also made, a single firm turning out 30,000 in a year.

As a mining State, Wisconsin occupies a leading position. There are sixteen iron mines, employing 2,000 men. The ore is of the red hematite variety. Most of the mining is carried on in the Lake Superior region, but some ore is obtained from the fossil deposits in the eastern part of the State. The Wisconsin iron mines are located in Dodge County, at Florence and Commonwealth in Florence County, and westward from Hurley in Iron County. Small deposits have been found in other parts of the State, but they are not large enough to yield a profit on the heavy investment necessary for working them.

In no other mining region in the world is there as much water in the mines as there is in the Lake Superior region. In no other region is the water so generally distributed. The amount of water made in the average mine of this region varies from 500 gallons to 1,000 gallons a minute. From a single shaft of one of the very wet mines water is raised at the rate of nearly 3,000 gallons per minute, about one-eighth of the amount consumed by the people of Milwaukee. Experienced mining men say that, without exception, the iron mines of the Lake Superior region have raised to the surface more tons of water than of ore, and that in some mines the ratio is three to one. The handling of this immense volume of water requires pumps of special design. Two-thirds of those installed in recent years are of Milwaukee

manufacture. A pump of this kind for one of the large mines was installed at a cost of $250,000.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

In flouring and grist mills nearly $10,000,000 is invested, and an annual product of two and a half times that value is marketed. Wisconsin cannot claim the greatest milling center in the country, that honor being conceded to Minnesota, but in Superior and Milwaukee the State has the second and third flour-producing points in the United States. Fifty-seven of the seventy counties produce flour, Douglas leading the list. Flour made in the mills of the State enjoys a high reputation. Almost every variety of spring and winter wheat is ground, the supply of soft and hard winter wheat coming from Kansas; white winter from Washington and Oregon; excellent varieties of both spring and winter grain from Iowa, Nebraska and Wisconsin; while Minnesota and the Dakotas contribute their splendid hard varieties. Wisconsin flour is consumed in the home market, and there are shipments all over the country and to foreign countries. There is hardly a village in England, Scotland, Ireland, or the northern part of the continent of Europe in which Wisconsin flour cannot be found. In addition to the ordinary flour, large quantities of whole wheat, graham, rye and buckwheat flour are produced, as well as pearl barley and the cereal preparations known as breakfast foods.

The value of articles made of wood has increased enormously in the State in the last fifteen years. An important branch of the wood-working industry is furniture making. Wisconsin has an inexhaustible supply of red birch and oak, at present the favorite woods. The finer woods, such as mahogany, are imported. Twenty years ago there was a meager investment in Wisconsin in the furniture industry, and the goods were used locally. To-day all grades of furniture are manufactured and the product is sold all over the country. Sheboygan is recognized as one of the leading centers in this line, disputing with Gardner, Mass., first place in the United States. Furniture of all kinds is made, from a cheap grade to the best. The manufacture of cheap and medium grades of upholstered furniture is a large industry in Milwaukee. In addition to the Sheboygan and Milwaukee establishments, large factories are located at Racine, Oshkosh, Fond du Lac and Eau Claire.

One of the industries showing the largest development is that which embraces the manufacture of textiles, and especially woolen goods. Milwaukee is a center for the manufacture of clothing, both for men and women. The establishments number nearly twenty, employing nearly 3,000 persons. Mills located in Milwaukee, Appleton, Reedsburg and Beaver Dam have the reputation of producing woolen fabrics of the best quality.

During the last fifteen years the manufacturing industries into which tobacco enters have been largely developed. Nearly 2,500 persons are given employ-

ment, and the annual output reaches about $5,000,000. An excellent quality of tobacco is grown in a group of counties surrounding Dane, and there are many tobacco warehouses at Madison, Edgerton, and other towns in this belt.

For more than a quarter of a century hydraulic cement has been obtained from a ledge of rock located near the Milwaukee River. When, in 1875, the manufacture of cement was begun, and for a long time thereafter, the daily capacity was 100 barrels. To-day two mills are operated, with a daily capacity of 4,000 barrels. One of them is the largest individual cement mill in the United States.

In the production of mineral water Wisconsin leads the States. Nearly two and a half million gallons are sold annually. Waukesha, with its many well-known springs, is the center of the industry. Some of the companies controlling springs operate extensive bottling plants and carry on a large shipping business.

CHAPTER III

Labor—In Peace and in War

PROBABLY a full third of the male adult population of the State is constituted by the artisans and laborers who earn subsistence and shelter by the sweat of the brow. With the growth of their numbers in cities, in lumber camps, and in other industrial centers has come organization into unions and affiliation with national bodies of workingmen. The natural result has been repeated and united effort for better conditions and larger wages. The fact that in Wisconsin many workingmen own their own homes has operated to lessen materially the eruptive tendencies witnessed in communities where property interests are not so widely distributed. Despite this fact, and the conciliatory attitude maintained by employers —with some exceptions—there have been at times many conflicts between them and their employees. In 1887 occurred what was known as "the sawdust war" at Eau Claire. There was some destruction of property, but no bloodshed. Yielding to importunity, the Governor ordered out the militia, and soon thereafter the strike collapsed.

It was in the same year that a strike of cigarmakers was precipitated in the numerous large cigar factories of Milwaukee, the men contending for larger wages and new shop rules. Irritation over new rules, abolishing and abridging certain time-honored customs and privileges, doubtless contributed more to the walk-out of the men than refusal for a wage increase. The strike lasted seven months, the men being defeated in its purpose. The principal employers formed an organization and

determined to break the union. Women and children were recruited from New York and other cities. Agents were sent to Europe to hire workmen, promises of good wages and free transportation to Wisconsin proving potent in inducing acceptance of the terms.

In 1889 there was a serious strike of laborers at West Superior; their attitude was so menacing that the Governor deemed it prudent to send National guardsmen to the metropolis of Northern Wisconsin. Their presence restored quiet.

Early in Governor Rusk's administration railroad workmen employed in the construction of the Superior Air Line grew violent because they had not received their pay and were on the point of starvation. The officials frantically called for military protection. "These men need bread, not bullets," is the way the Governor summed up the situation, and compelled the contractors to live up to their agreement with the men.

In the early May days of 1886 a reign of terror existed in the city of Milwaukee. Idle workmen paraded the streets; men willing to work were urged to join the demonstration, and in many cases compelled to do so; crowds, armed with paving blocks, billets and other improvised weapons of the street, overturned hucksters' stands, invaded manufacturing establishments, and even attacked them. As the riotous proceedings grew to large proportions and the city seemed about to be stretched at the mercy of a mob, a deadly fire from the rifles of State militiamen was poured into a crowd of Polish workmen and ended the lawlessness which had threat-

ened to grow beyond control. The incidents were contemporaneous with the tragic massacre of the Haymarket in Chicago.

Off in the East there appeared about Christmastide the year before a cloud seemingly no larger than a man's hand; by springtime the entire sky was overcast, and the storm center was over Chicago and Milwaukee. Several years before, the Federation of Trades, in national convention, had adopted resolutions advising all labor organizations "to so direct their laws that eight hours should constitute a legal day's work on and after May 1, 1886." The Knights of Labor, hitherto a weak and struggling organization, took up the eight-hour cry, and soon developed an enormous membership. In Wisconsin the working classes were exceedingly responsive. Robert Schilling became a State organizer, and his energetic work resulted in an enormous accession of members. In their declaration of principles the Knights advocated shortening the hours of labor "by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours." The slogan: "Eight hours' work and ten hours' pay," appealed with irresistible force to the great mass of unskilled laborers especially. The Knights of Labor took into their fold all who called themselves workmen; even women were importuned to join, and assemblies were organized for them.

The Central Labor Union, a Socialist organization, joined in the agitation and secured many members. At its head was Paul Grottkau, editor of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung." He had but recently come from Germany, and

threw himself into the movement with an energy that gave him a large and devoted personal following. Possessing a remarkable gift of oratory, he was able to sway his followers as he wished. Thus, while the union had a membership materially smaller than the Knights of Labor, the workmen affiliated with the organization were as conspicuous in the movement. When threatened anarchy was succeeded by order, the arm of the law fell heaviest on its members.

Between the leaders of the two organizations there was much bitter rivalry that found expression in the columns of their respective newspapers. Personal antagonism did not, however, prevent common action, in prosecuting the eight-hour movement. More than 3,000 persons attended a great preliminary mass meeting on the west side, and the aldermen were urged to manifest their sympathy by passing an ordinance fixing a day's work at eight hours for all day laborers in the city's employ. Impressed by the demonstration, the aldermen complied with such haste as to suggest that political fear prompted their action. But one negative vote was recorded. It is worthy of note that but a few weeks later when the eight-hour day commotion had subsided, the same aldermen voted to repeal the ordinance.

Shortly after, three large tobacco manufacturing firms acceded to the demands of their men and introduced the eight-hour schedule. It now seemed as if nothing could withstand the movement, and that on May 1 all employers would be compelled to inaugurate the new system. The organization of Knights of Labor assemblies

went on at a remarkable rate. More than 10,000 members were counted in Milwaukee. At Marinette, Oconto and Preshtigo the men engaged in lumber industries joined the Knights in large numbers.

Believing that the concession of an eight-hour day by Edward P. Allis, in whose immense works more than a thousand men were employed, would operate powerfully in inducing smaller concerns to follow, it was planned to ask Mr. Allis for such a work-day before the fateful first day of May. Coupled with this proposition, was a demand for a 25 per cent. increase in wages. The request was presented in April. Mr. Allis agreed to eight hours for a day's work, but gave reasons why he could not increase wages, except in the case of common laborers. Although a committee of employees, after a conference, decided that Mr. Allis was justified in his course, the radicals repudiated the agreement entered into by their representatives. The conservative workmen stood by their committee and their firm. The result was that many timid employers were emboldened to follow the same course with their employees.

On all sides there was a feeling of suppressed excitement when May 1 dawned. In Milwaukee the idle workmen on this day included about 7,000 persons, mainly belonging to the following classes: Brewery employees, journeymen carpenters, shop tailors and their helpers, clothing cutters, cigarmakers, broommakers, and about 2,000 common laborers. The events of the subsequent few days increased the number to about 16,000.

May 1 occurred on a Saturday. There was no demon-

stration, but the following day a monster picnic had been planned by the Central Labor Union. Several thousand men marched, and a few red flags were carried in the procession—an omen of what was to come. Some of the mottoes and sentiments on banners and standards tended to alarm peouple, who looked with forebodings to the events of the coming week:

"Right and law often differ materially from each other."

"The idolaters of the golden calf must be downed."

"Help yourself and God will then help you. Realize this, man, and end your sufferings."

"They used to call it over-production; now we shall consume some more."

"The republic shall have no ruler; not even King Mammon."

"Capital must come down from its high horse."

"We have come to the crossroads. Honest workmen will follow the way. Mark the rats. Eight hours."

"Capital is the product of labor; not its master."

Many other sentiments of like nature were displayed. Monday dawned; a general strike at the breweries was ordered. A thousand men marched to Falk's establishment and insisted that the unwilling workmen must join them. In many establishments the workmen marched out in a body; in most of them the demand was for higher pay and shorter hours. By evening 14,000 breadwinners were out of work.

It was during the afternoon of this day that the first lawlessness occurred. The unskilled Polish laborers had thrown themselves into the eight-hour movement with immense enthusiasm. They were deluded into be-

lieving that all wage-earners would simultaneously quit work on the day agreed upon, and that none of them would resume work until the entire brotherhood of workmen were enabled to return on the same conditions. They loyally carried out what they regarded as their part of the agreement. When they learned that hundreds of workmen had remained at their places they became enraged. They believed that they had been basely betrayed. In this temper, the few anarchists who lived in Milwaukee and made up in activity what they lacked in numbers, found the Polish workmen ductile material. The impressionable Slavs readily agreed that all workmen who had not struck for eight hours at the appointed time had proven false and must either abandon their jobs or suffer the consequences.

On Monday afternoon, May 3, the trouble began. Some 1,400 men were working at the railway shops in the Menominee valley; several hundred Poles appeared here and called upon them to quit work. This the employees refused to do. A conflict seemed imminent; the handful of deputy sheriffs who came to the rescue deemed it suicidal to resist the riotous marchers, and induced the employees of the shops to leave the premises. The mob gave a shout of exultation and marched to the city, augmenting in numbers as they proceeded. They followed the track of the Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, and reached the freight yards. A dash was made for the freight warehouse, but the iron doors clanged in their faces, and their sticks and stones struck powerless against the unbroken wall of brick and metal.

Some one shouted, "On to the Allis works!" and thither the mob pursued its march, the men yelling "Eight hours! eight hours!" as they went. While a self-constituted committee entered the main doorway to demand that all the men join the idlers, the crowd waited outside. In a few minutes the committee came out of the entrance in much haste and in miscellaneous disorder. The brawny muscle of the iron workers was the motive power that hastened their exit. A shout of anger went up and a hail of stones rattled against the sides of the Reliance Iron Works. Sticks were brandished and a simultaneous, but disorganized, move was made to enter the main doorway. Bloodshed was imminent; at this juncture the doors of the main entrance were thrown wide open and in the shadow was seen a crowd of iron workers dragging a wiggling section of hose. An instant later a stream of hissing water encountered the leaders of the assault, and men toppled helplessly all over the street. The catapult power of the stream shot some of the men clear across the street. Wet, bruised and discouraged, they picked themselves up; a few angrily advanced a second time to assault the defenders of the works, only to come in contact with the vigorous stream of water and to fly helplessly back into the arms of their companions. At this juncture two patrol wagons hove in sight, and a score of policemen jumped into the midst of the crowd and completed the rout by hammering right and left with their clubs of stout hickory.

There was now the utmost consternation in the

city. The authority of law trembled in the balance. Mayor Emil Wallber advised Mr. Allis to close his works, and this was done. Gov. Jeremiah Rusk was notified by wire of the situation, and, accompanied by his military advisers, hastened from Madison to Milwaukee on a special train. Several regiments of the National Guard were ordered to be ready to respond at a moment's notice. That night the authorities slumbered on the thin crust of a volcano.

Long before the bell in the double towers of St. Stanislaus church struck the hour of 6 o'clock, Tuesday morning, men with sullen faces gathered in its vicinity. All carried clubs. At about 7 o'clock, six or seven hundred men moved as if by preconcerted action in the direction of the rolling mills in Bay View. On the way they came to a trench dug by sewer diggers. These men were compelled to join the strikers, and their shovels were labeled with chalk, in letters as large as their size would permit:

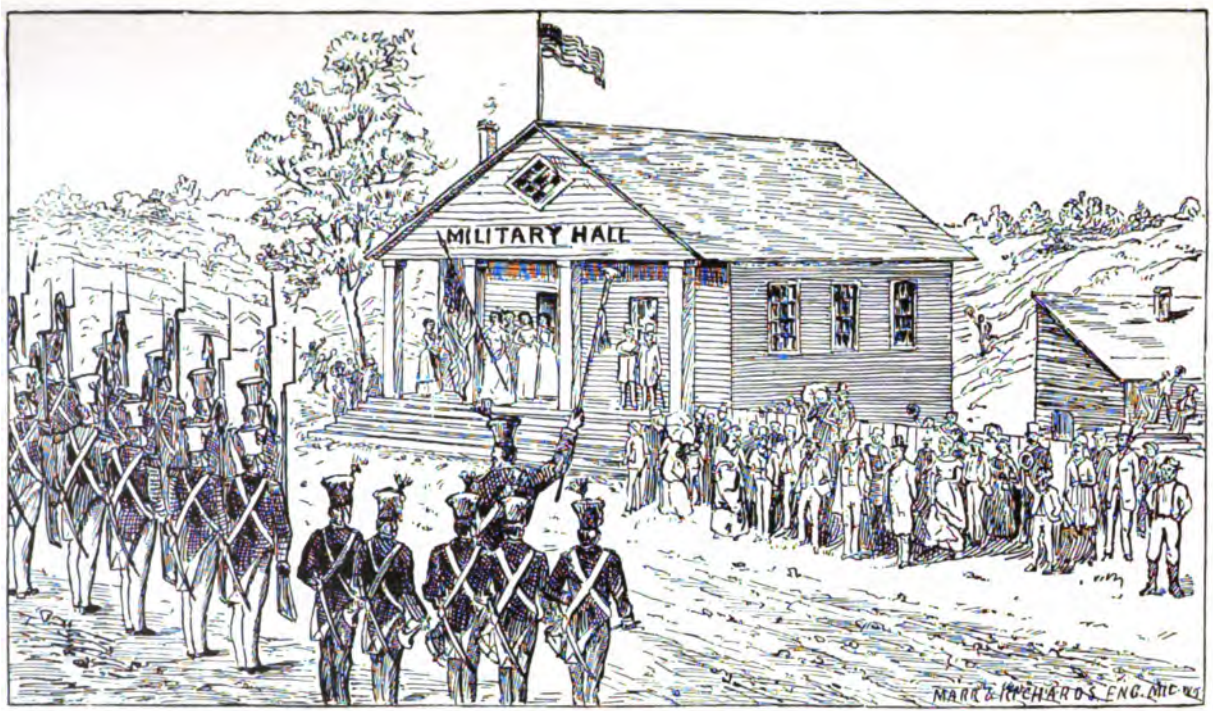
"8 HOURS."

At the railroad tracks one of the leaders mounted a side-tracked freight car and made an impassioned harangue. In the valley the smoke from chimneys denoted that men were busy in a number of establishments. These places were unceremoniously entered and the workmen were forced to yield to the order, "Close down," and to march along.

At the rolling mills the coming of the mob had been

espied from a distance, and an urgent message by telephone had been sent to the authorities at the Squadron armory. On receipt of the message the firebells rang the signal agreed upon to call the militiamen to their duty. Before the National Guardsmen had all responded and could be transported to Bay View, some hours elapsed. The rolling mill officials in the mean time received a deputation of the mob, and to gain time kept them in consultation—ostensibly to decide upon conditions of shutting down the works. While this conference was in progress a man on the roof anxiously scanned the road leading cityward to give early notice of the coming of the militia. The crowd that surrounded the little office outside the fence-encircled iron works for some time patiently awaited the outcome of the conference, but finally grew demonstrative. At this juncture, Robert Schilling, the recognized leader of the Knights of Labor in Wisconsin, appeared and made a speech counseling them to make no lawless demonstration and bitterly attacking the anarchists who were spurring the deluded men on to their destruction. He had hardly ceased speaking when a train came speeding along, stopped and emptied into the midst of the astonished workmen four companies of the National Guardsmen. There was a moment's hesitation, and the short, sharp commands of the officers were responded to by the jeers of the crowd, now numbering at least a thousand men.

What angered the crowd more than anything else was the fact that one of the companies—the Kosciusko guard



OLD MILITARY HALL—MILWAUKEE 1845.

—was composed of their countrymen. As the soldiers were formed in line and marched through the midst of the increasing crowd, taunts and insults and raised sticks and clubs gave undeniable evidence of the warlike temper of the mob. Soon a stone whistled through the air and a member of the Kosciusko guard picked up his smashed helmet. As the crowd grew more demonstrative, it was deemed prudent to withdraw the militia to the area within the high board fence. The huge gates were opened, and they marched in. The Kosciusko guard brought up the rear. As the last men were about to pass within the gates, a shower of stones and other missiles followed them. Many of them were struck in the back and on the head. As if by common impulse, the men turned, leveled their rifles at the crowd and a volley of bullets sped along. Many of the mob, as they saw the rifles aimed, threw themselves flat upon the ground; others sought shelter behind woodpiles and telegraph posts and fences. Notwithstanding, it seemed providential that the ground was not strewn with dead and dying. Many buildings in range of the rifles were perforated by the bullets, but not one person was wounded by the volley. The gates were hastily shut, and the disorderly attack on the militia was converted into a siege. A few belated soldiers who came out to join their comrades were chased a long distance by some of the strikers, but escaped capture. Towards night the mob gradually dispersed.

In the mean time the Central Labor Union had called its members to assemble at Milwaukee garden, which

was regarded as the Socialistic headquarters. After listening to a speech by Paul Grottkau, the men formed in line, a thousand strong, and marched to Brand's stove works. The firm had granted all the demands of the men; notwithstanding, the employees were compelled to throw down their tools and walk out. An attack on the bakeries was deferred until the day following. The police dispersed the second gathering.

The city was now convulsed with terror. To add to the alarm, it was noticed that on doorways, on sidewalks and on the sides of the houses adjacent to the streets mysterious figures and devices were scribbled in chalk. The marks were inoffensive enough, had they been understood; it was the method pursued by the Knights of Labor to notify their members of the date and hour of meeting of the respective assemblies; but this was not known outside of the ranks of the Knights, and it was assumed that the town was about to be put to the torch and all its inhabitants were to be slaughtered.

The following unsigned notice was scattered broadcast on the afternoon of May 5, and the leaders of the Knights of Labor conspicuously wore blue ribbons on the lapels of their coats:

"Every Knight of Labor is hereby asked by the Executive Board to keep away from all public meetings that are held at this time. Every member is ordered to wear a blue badge or ribbon as a token of peace and order. At the same time we request all Knights of Labor to remain at their work or at their homes, and in all cases assist the authorities in protecting life and property."

It was too late. The feverish excitement of the last three days had carried many of the workingmen beyond control. The tragic end came on Wednesday. Early in the morning another crowd had gathered at the St. Stanislaus church corner, their purpose being to march again to Bay View. There the militiamen were still encamped, reinforced by some of the companies from the interior of the State. Governor Rusk had sent word that in case of a repetition of mob tactics, soldiers should shoot to kill. When the commanding officer, Major George P. Traeumer, saw the mob advancing up the road, he massed his troops so as to block the roadway. He waved his hand to the mob in warning not to approach nearer. The mob was then a thousand yards away. Either they did not understand the officer's warning, or were emboldened not to heed it as a result of the previous day's harmless volley. If they believed the soldiers would fire blank cartridges, they were quickly undeceived. Major Traeumer gave the word, and two companies discharged their rifles in the direction of the mob. Panic seized the crowd as they saw their comrades fall, some dead and some terribly wounded. How many bullets took effect will never be known. As the crowd dispersed, they carried their wounded with them. It is known, however, that eight fatalities resulted from the volley.

The terrible events at Bay View ended the riotous demonstration. Some of the anarchists and socialists were arrested, and a few of them were sentenced to hard labor in the House of Correction on a charge of

"riot and conspiracy"; among them was Paul Grottkau. Many leading Knights of Labor, including Robert Schilling, were also arrested for boycotting under the law of conspiracy, but the cases were not tried.

The disturbance had lasted less than a week. The volley that struck down the mob at Bay View likewise killed the agitation for eight hours. Men returned to work without renewing their demands; factories and workshops resumed operations; but for many months thereafter a boycott was maintained, despite the arrest of a score of Knights of Labor for conspiracy. Members of the Kosciusko guard found themselves ostracized by their compatriots, and those in business were almost ruined. It took years to efface the enmity evolved by their response to duty when the call to arms was a summons to face neighbors and friends with leveled rifles.

The great street railway strike of 1896, in Milwaukee, attracted attention all over the country by reason of the remarkable boycott that was waged for several weeks. To enforce a demand for more wages, the motormen and conductors left their cars and declared a boycott. The public sympathetically walked or rode in 'buses and ancient vehicles imported in great number from the towns and cities within a hundred miles of Milwaukee. There was no serious disturbance, and the strikers had the sympathy of the community in an unusual degree. When a car made a trip at irregular intervals, the only passengers were policemen on guard duty. On some days (Sundays) not a car moved. Then came a boycott that bade fair to paralyze every industry

in the city, and the result was a great reaction, and the strike, while seemingly won, collapsed.

"This boycott is a marvel," wrote a newspaper correspondent. "Its like has never been seen before in this or any other country. The condition into which it has thrown a big, busy city stands unique in the history of the world to-day. King Boycott is absolute master in Milwaukee. The 200,000 and more human beings who live and toil in this city are subject to his scepter. The first blow was aimed at the street railway company and nobody cared. The sympathetic people walked or rode in nondescript vehicles, called omnibuses, and suffered inconveniences uncomplainingly. The next blow hit officers of the street railway company through their private enterprises, and only those directly interested suffered. Then the ban was placed on all who might offer aid and comfort to the enemy by riding on cars, doing business with its officers, or doing business with those who had ridden on the street cars. The final blow reached all walks of life, all enterprises, all avocations, and was extended even into the third and fourth generations and to relatives by marriage. In Milwaukee every man in the service of King Boycott is a spy upon his neighbor. The result is virtually a reign of terror. Business is throttled almost to the point of complete strangulation."

CHAPTER IV.

Development of Transportation Facilities

A GLANCE at the map of Wisconsin shows a network of railroad lines extending to all sections of the State. Here and there several lines converge into large manufacturing centers. This great development in transportation facilities has occurred within the last three decades. To-day the fifty-six railroad lines in Wisconsin afford a total of 6,962 miles—in 1848 not a rail had been laid.

Shortly after the Black Hawk war, a migration from the East, followed by an influx of colonists from over the ocean, came in long caravans of prairie schooners to settle the fertile valleys of this western territory. The decaying trading posts fixed the site of future cities; the Indian trails became our early roads. Like magic the forest lands were transformed into waving wheat fields. For a time the surplus products were hauled fifty or sixty miles to Milwaukee, Racine, Southport (now Kenosha) and Prairie du Chien; the drivers returning with the household effects of additional immigrants. With but a few exceptions, roads were unimproved. Occasionally the horse of the circuit judge who rode from court to court would mire, and he would be compelled to return on foot to the nearest farmhouse.

This condition of traffic could not long exist. The demand for a speedier system of transportation came as a result of the development of agriculture and the increased production of the lead mines. The prices offered in the East were alluring, but the profits on lead and wheat were relatively diminished by the tedious over-

land hauling on plank and corduroy roads to the lake ports.

The Northwest was anxious for internal improvements which had apparently done so much for the East. Experienced engineers were of the belief that a means of communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River could be secured by the construction of a canal from Milwaukee to the Rock River at a moderate expense. Finally, a petition was presented to the Legislature, and in November, 1837, the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal Company was incorporated. Byron Kilbourn, of Milwaukee, became the first president, and Solomon Juneau was one of the directors. Congress was interested, and a donation of about 400,000 acres of land, consisting of all odd-numbered sections on both sides of the canal, was granted. Nevertheless, the project proved a failure. A dam was constructed at Milwaukee and a short distance of the canal was excavated, of which to-day nearly all trace is obliterated.

Another early waterway of travel, frequented by explorers, fur traders and early settlers, was the Fox-Wisconsin route. Eastern capitalists quickly recognized the advantages which might accrue from a connecting link by a canal and suitable locks at the portage, where the rivers are about two and one-half miles apart. A charter was granted in 1837 under the name of the Portage Canal Company. Work was begun, $10,000 was expended, and then the project was abandoned. But agitation for the completion of the popular enterprise increased year by year. After ten years (1847) the

national government gave the State a land grant; the scheme was revived, and the State government undertook the construction. But the work dragged to the point of utter discouragement. Finally the national government took up the work in 1874, and the canal and other improvements were completed in 1876, nearly fifty years after the idea first presented itself to the settlers as a desirable and feasible undertaking.

The canal is seventy feet wide and about five feet deep. It passes through the center of the city of Portage. Over $4,000,000 were expended in the improvement and only $19,162.12 were ever collected by a system of tolls which Congress abolished in 1889. The traffic, now, as then, is light, the chief advantage accruing to the manufacturing towns along the route, where water power has been developed by virtue of a system of locks, which were constructed to make the river navigable for boats of even a few feet draught. During the summer season flat-bottomed steamers carry on a spasmodic freight traffic from Omro to Portage. Although each year money is expended improving the canal at Portage, so useless has it become as a facility of present-day traffic, that it sometimes is closed throughout an entire season.

Of other ambitions to build canals, all were forgotten in the early fifties. Nevertheless, passenger-travel on lakes Winnebago and Michigan was still considerable. It was a pleasant change from a lumbering stagecoach or road wagon at Fond du Lac, the foot of Lake Winnebago, to take a steamboat and be put down at Neenah or Menasha six hours later. This traffic has increased,

rather than diminished, between the ports of Lake Michigan at the present time.

Yet even in the period when the canal agitation was at its height, the territorial legislature was almost annually granting charters to railroad companies, only one of which ever matured. Gradually the people were converted to the idea that railroads as a feasible means of communication, and an ultimate solution of the economic difficulties which confronted them, were a practical success.

It was at the last session of the territorial legislature, in the latter part of the year 1847, that a charter was granted to the Milwaukee & Waukesha Railroad Company to construct a line between these terminal points. The completion, in 1851, of this first twenty miles of pioneer Wisconsin railroad was the occasion of a great celebration, and a most elaborate dinner at Waukesha, at which some of the most distinguished citizens of the State were speakers. In the mean time, the name of the company had been amended to the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company. This was the nucleus of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad system, which is now operating 1,139 miles of its own track in the State. The road from Waukesha was rapidly extended; in 1852 to Milton; 1853 to Stoughton; 1854 to Madison, and in 1857 to the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien. In April of that year the road was completed and the Mississippi River was thus commercially united with Lake Michigan. The present Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad grew from the consolidation of numer-

ous smaller lines in the State, which was effected in 1874, when a charter was conferred upon the company by the legislature. At that time the system consisted of the Milwaukee & Fond du Lac road, chartered in 1851; the La Crosse & Milwaukee, originally chartered in 1852, and the Milwaukee, Fond du Lac & Green Bay, chartered in 1853. These roads were consolidated in 1854 under the name of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad. But prior to this time the La Crosse & Milwaukee had already merged with the Milwaukee & Western Railroad, which had consolidated with the following roads by 1863: The Milwaukee & Watertown, chartered in 1851; the Watertown & Madison, chartered in 1853, and the Madison & Fond du Lac, projected in 1853 but not chartered until 1855. As a result of the consolidation of so many lines the name was changed in 1863 to the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, to which was added the line of the Milwaukee & Horicon road. After the change of name the Ripon & Wolf River road came in, followed by the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad, which embraced a spur from Milton through Janesville to Monroe, becoming a division of the Milwaukee & St. Paul road in 1868. The Chicago division of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway was completed in 1873, and in the following year the name of the amalgamated system was changed to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, which it still bears.

The present Chicago & Northwestern Railroad is likewise the result of a series of consolidations and numerous constructions under various corporate names.

On August 19, 1848, the Madison & Beloit Railroad was chartered to be built from Beloit, via Janesville, Madison and La Crosse, to a point on the Mississippi River, near St. Paul. A spur line was to be built from Janesville to Fond du Lac. After two years the name of the company was changed to the Rock River Valley Union Railroad Company, and was five years (1855) later again changed to the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad Company. However, construction was slow, and in 1859 only 176 miles had been constructed from Chicago to Fond du Lac by way of Watertown and Janesville. It was not until the session of the legislature in 1857 that the Wisconsin & Lake Superior and the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad companies were consolidated under the name of the latter. A reorganization occurred in 1859, the name being changed to the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company, operating at present 1,758 miles of road in the State.

The third largest company in the State is the Wisconsin Central. The legislature of 1866 chartered two companies, one to build a line from Portage to Berlin and Stevens Point, and the other from Menasha to Stevens Point; then jointly to Bayfield and Lake Superior. The former was called the Winnebago & Lake Superior Railroad Company, the latter the Portage & Superior Railroad Company. The separate lines were merged in 1869, forming, in 1871, the Wisconsin Central Railroad, which now operates 841 miles of road, principally in North-Central Wisconsin.

Among the other important lines in the State are: Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha, with 336 miles; the Green Bay & Western, with 225 miles; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, with 222 miles, and the Northern Pacific, with 150 miles.

The close of the Civil War resulted in an industrial awakening through the upper Mississippi Valley; immigration to Wisconsin multiplied and the production of cereals and fruits increased. Every community sought railroad facilities and was willing to offer almost anything to obtain them. Rights of way were freely surrendered, even at a sacrifice of valuable private interests. Congress had previously granted several million acres of land to aid various railroad projects, some of the land being still open to settlers.

The distribution of some of these lands, prior to the war, gave rise to a famous legislative scandal, during the session of 1856. Two years later rumors that representatives of the railroads had bribed members of the legislature for a favorable land grant were so urgent that a joint committee was appointed to investigate the matter. Their report states that "the managers of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company had been guilty of numerous acts of mismanagement, gross violation of duty, fraud and plunder." It further stated that thirteen of the senators voting to grant this company land received from $10,000 to $20,000 either in stocks or bonds; that fifty-eight of the sixty-two assemblymen received from $5,000 to $10,000 in the same manner. Even the governor of the State did not

escape suspicion. Fortunately, the railroad company never profited by its machinations—the road was never constructed.

A more serious result ensued, however, in later cases where the farmers mortgaged their property to aid railroad projects. In many instances where charters were granted agents were sent along the surveyed lines to induce the farmers to subscribe to the stock. Believing that the lines would cheapen transportation and enhance the value of their properties, farmers freely gave them mortgages on their possessions with the prospect of joint ownership in railroads. They felt that under the new prosperity, principal and interest would take care of themselves. Municipalities became so interested that they bonded themselves to assist the proposed public utility. The bonds and mortgages, which drew a high rate of interest, were sold generally to foreign capitalists. In the hands of innocent parties, default occurring in the payment of interest, the mortgages were foreclosed and the farmers lost all in protracted but hopeless litigation. The total number of these farm mortgages in the State was 3,785, amounting to $4,079,433. Many a prosperous farmer suddenly found himself in bankruptcy. They pressed for a favorable decision in the highest courts, but were unsuccessful.

Such extortionate dealings on the part of the West Wisconsin Railroad Company resulted in the forfeiture of their charter. Arbitrarily changing their minds, they took up a part of their trackage and projected a line through a community without securing a franchise. An

action at law culminated in the forfeiture of their charter. An appeal was taken to the legislature of 1874, but here the railroad also met defeat.

Disgraceful as was the farm mortgage chapter, the city of Watertown figured in one no more creditable. Under color of constructing a railroad from Milwaukee to Watertown, an incorporation under the name of the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad induced Watertown to bond the municipality to an amount aggregating $80,000, bearing the date of August 1, 1853, to run for ten years, with 8 per cent. coupons attached. In return the company was to mortgage its property. On obtaining the bonds, the company delayed the delivery of the mortgage. It was a daring scheme, yet the suspicion of the citizens was held in abeyance at first by the company promptly paying the coupons as they matured. More bonds were desired in 1856, and on June 1 the city cheerfully issued $200,000 worth to the Watertown & Madison Railroad Company and a like amount to the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad Company. Payment on these bonds was guaranteed by the companies and secured by stock deposited with the city as collateral. The municipal bonds owned by the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac, which afterwards merged into the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company, were paid, with the exception of about $27,000, held by Mr. Ephraim Mariner, of Milwaukee. The bonds of the other roads sold at from 5 to 10 per cent. of their face value, no attempt being made to construct the roads. Foreseeing the condition of things, the city attempted

to compromise on the bonds. But the brokers thought they saw an opportunity for profit. They formed a syndicate and began waging a warfare in the courts, lasting nearly forty years. Judgments were secured against the city, but in order to escape assessment for the amounts by mandamus, each year shortly after the spring election the newly elected city council would hold a secret meeting, levy the taxes for the year and then the mayor and junior aldermen would resign and the senior aldermen would thereafter organize as a board of street commissioners, without tax-levying powers. This curious method of evasion was continued for twenty years, from 1872 to the spring of 1892, when the mayor and junior aldermen failed to resign and the city was again in possession of a full-fledged government. This had been preceded, however, by an agreement with Mr. Mariner, who held nearly all the outstanding judgments, aggregating $600,000 to settle for $15,000. At the final adjustment of the controversy, Watertown held a day of celebration.

With the widespread development of railroads, extending to nearly every farming community of the Northwest, new problems arose for solution, some of which still engage present attention. Many felt that the railroads failed to meet their full obligations to shippers and patrons. Concisely stated, the alleged abuses and defects in the existing system of transportation in the early seventies included insufficient facilities, extortionate charges and unfair discrimination. This aggravated condition led to the formation of secret organizations known as the Granger movement, the influence of which

was to be profoundly felt throughout the State in the determination to correct abuses.

By 1873 there was strong effort to bring the people of the State to a realization of the excessive burdens they were carrying. Early in the year Gov. C. C. Washburn, foreseeing the arrogant position of the railroads in dealing with the people, declared in his message to the legislature that "many vast and overshadowing corporations in the United States are justly a source of alarm, and the legislature cannot scan too closely every measure that comes before them which proposes to give additional rights and privileges to the railways of the State." This warning went unheeded.

Just at this time, to complicate matters further, a financial panic swept the country; the hard times were accredited to the dominant party. The political atmosphere appeared clouded. In the fall campaign the Grangers joined with the Democratic party under the name of the Democratic-Liberal Reform party, and successfully elected William R. Taylor governor and secured a majority in the assembly. The republicans controlled a majority in the senate. In the session of the legislature which followed, the attempts of the Grangers to secure the enactment of new railroad tax laws met with failure. Their efforts, however, to bring about a change in the rates and passenger fares were more successful. After a long and bitter discussion in the legislature, a bill introduced by Senator Robert L. D. Potter of Waushara, familiarly known as "the Potter Law," was passed. This drastic measure was the assertion, by

the legislative power of the State, of its right to control corporations created by itself and to limit the rates at which passengers and freight should be carried.

The effect of the measure was quickly manifest. The larger companies at first took no heed of the law, and on April 1, Governor Taylor issued a proclamation declaring, "The law of the land must be obeyed." On April 27, the governor received communications from Alexander Mitchell, president of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, and Albert Keep, president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, to the effect that their companies intended to disregard that portion of the law which fixed rate charges. Much feeling was evinced. Action was begun in the State and federal courts to establish the right of the State to control railroads. In all the courts the power of the State was upheld.

The powers of the State in this connection were admirably set forth by Chief-Justice E. G. Ryan's terse and succinct opinion, in which he upheld its rights. This is probably the most famous judicial opinion in the history of the State. The following extracts indicate its scope and tenor:

"In our day the common law has encountered in England, as in this country, a new power, unknown to its founders, practically too strong for its ordinary private remedies. The growth of great corporations, centers of vast wealth and power, new and potent elements of social influence, overrunning the country with their work and their traffic which has increased marvelously during the last half century. It is very certain that the country

has gained largely by them in commerce and development. But such aggregations of capital and power, outside of public control, are dangerous to public and private right, and are practically above many public restraints of the common law, and all ordinary remedies of the common law for private wrongs. Their influence is so large, their capacity of resistance so formidable, their powers of oppression so various, that few private persons could litigate with them; still fewer private persons would litigate with them for the little rights or the little wrongs that go so far to make up the measure of average prosperity of life. It would have been a mockery of justice to have left corporations—counting their capital by millions, their lines of railroads by hundreds, and even, sometimes, by thousands of miles, their servants by multitudes, their customers by the active members of society—subject only to the common law liabilities and remedies which were adequate protection against turnpike and bridge and ferry companies, in one view of their relations to the public; and, in another view, to the same liabilities and remedies which were found sufficient for common carriers, who carried passengers by a daily line of stages, and goods by weekly wagon, or both by a few coasting or inland crafts, with capital and influence often less than those of a prosperous village shopkeeper. The common-law remedies, sufficient against these, were, in a great degree, impotent against the railroad companies—always too powerful for private right, often too powerful for their own good.

"It is hardly necessary to add that we sustain the juris-

diction to enjoin a corporation from abuses or excess of franchise, or other violation of public law to public detriment. We listened to a good deal of denunciation of this law which we think was misapplied. We do not mean to say that the act is not open to criticism. We only say that such criticism is unfounded. It was said that its provisions, which have been noticed, were not within the scope of the legislative function, as if every compilation of statutes, everywhere, in all time, did not contain provisions limiting and regulating tolls; as if the very franchise altered were not a rebuke to such clamor. It was repeated, with a singular confusion of ideas and a singular perversion of terms, that the provisions of the chapter amounted to an act of confiscation, a well-defined term in the law, signifying the appropriation by the State to itself, for its own use, as upon forfeiture, of the whole thing confiscated. It was denounced as an act of communism. We thank God that communism is a foreign abomination, without recognition or sympathy here. The people of Wisconsin are too intelligent, too staid, too just, too busy, too prosperous, for any such horror of doctrine, for any leaning towards confiscation or communism. And these wild terms are as applicable to a statute limiting the rates of toll on their roads as the term murder is to the surgeon's wholesome use of the knife, to save life, not to take it. Such objections do not rise to the dignity of argument. They belong to that order of grumbling against legal duty and legal liability which would rail the seal from off the bond.

"We have, according to our duty, dealt with the questions we have considered as questions of law. We cannot judge of the policy or the fairness of the act. That is for the legislature. We can only say that it is the law. We cannot judge of the propriety of these informations. That is for the law officers of the State. We are only to determine what the law is, and to administer it as we find it, in causes over which we have no other control. And we can join in no outcry against the law, which it is our duty to administer. Neither can we countenance any outcry against the railroads. We cannot consider any popular excitement against them warranted or useful. The railroads have their rights, and so have the people. Whatever usurpation or abuses, if any, the railroad companies may be guilty of, can find a remedy in calm, just, appropriate legislation. And this court will firmly and impartially protect all the rights of the railroads and of the people in all litigation which may come here. But we can take no part in popular outcry against these companies, or countenance any prejudice against them. It is deeply to be regretted that there is just now more or less excitement against railroad corporations, although we believe that its extent is greatly exaggerated. But it seems to us quite safe to say that, though this feeling may be unwise, it is not vindictive; but it is rather of the nature of parental anger against those spoiled children of legislation, as our statute books abundantly show them to be, who, after some quarter of a century of legislative favors lavishly showered upon them, unwisely mutiny against the first serious legislative

restraint they have met. If it be true that the people are too angry, it is very sure that the companies have been too defiant.

"We think that there must be a point where the public interest in railroads and the private interest of the corporators meet; where the service of the public at the lowest practicable rate will produce the largest legitimate income to the railroads. It seems to us an utter delusion that the highest tolls will produce the largest income. The companies have hitherto absolutely controlled their own rates. The legislature now limits them. The companies say that the limit is too low. But there is no occasion for heat or passion on either side. The people and the legislature understand well the necessity of the railroads to the State and the necessity of dealing fairly and justly, and even liberally, with the companies. Time and prudence and wise counsels will set all this right. This very controversy may well bring about a better and more permanent understanding and relation between the State and its corporations. We say so much in deference to an earnest appeal from the bar to counsel moderation. But, in the meantime, we cannot legislate for either party. We can only say what the law is and administer it as we find it. We have already sustained the power of the legislature to limit rates of toll of railroads subject to legislative control. But that power rests on the authority of the legislature, not on the reasonable rate of tolls fixed. And the restraint of a franchise to take reasonable tolls, to tolls reasonable, in fact, is a judicial, not a legislative function. The material prop-

erty and rights of corporations should be inviolate . . . but it comports with the dignity and safety of the State that the franchises of corporations should be subject to the power that grants them, that corporations should exist as the subordinates of the State which is their creator."

During the first year after the Potter law was passed its effects became distinctly apparent. Roads in partial operation became dormant through lack of funds for completion; some of the smaller towns were punished by a policy of inadequate service, and the statement was made that "since the establishment of the law not a spadeful of earth has been raised toward the construction of a single line of road. The interest of the East was aroused, and European capitalists refused to invest further in Wisconsin railroad stocks. The manifest hostility against the law was expressed by the people at the election of 1876 when the Reform party met an overwhelming defeat. The convening legislature repealed the unpopular portions of the measure and the Granger movement abated.

That feature of the Potter law which created a board of three commissioners to supervise the railroads was destined to be of permanence. The members were appointed by the Governor and the first commissioners were: J. H. Osborne, George H. Paul and J. W. Hoyt. In 1876 the legislature reduced the board to one member to be appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the senate. However, in 1881 the law was modified further by making the commissioner an elective officer.

This system has continued until the present time. During recent years the industrial expansion of the lines has led to an agitation for a board of railroad commissioners with power to regulate rates. This movement culminated in 1905 when the legislature created an appointive commission of three members with large powers. The present commission is composed of John Barnes, of Rhinelander; Halford E. Erickson, of West Superior, and Prof. H. B. Meyer, of Madison.

Throughout the eighties the industrial development of the State was one of the most notable in the history of the Commonwealth. The almost trackless wilderness of Northern Wisconsin was broken; hamlets became cities and broad acres sites for prosperous farms. This growth was partially precipitated by the discovery of mineral wealth along Lake Superior. Railroad lines extending for miles through uninhabited districts added to the Commonwealth's agricultural pursuits a diversity of industries. Such facilities developed the natural resources—lumber, iron ore, copper, granite, fireclay, and a host of others. It brought the water powers into utilization, and along the Fox and Wisconsin valleys the great paper mills, installed in the early nineties, now manufacture print and other papers by the train loads. It was also during this decade that the smaller lines of Northern Wisconsin, built as lumbering roads a few years earlier, were merged with larger companies to become a part of their great systems.

Within the last ten years the electric street and interurban lines are becoming an important factor in trans-

portation. Since 1900 the development has been rapid, and already there are nearly 500 miles of tracks in the State, over half of this trackage being interurban. One of the more recent lines to be completed was constructed in 1902 from Oshkosh to Fond du Lac, linking the chain in the Fox River Valley from Green Bay to Fond du Lac, a distance of nearly 60 miles. Although as a means of carrying freight such lines have as yet significance merely as a prophecy, for passenger service their use is quite universal in the immediate localities because of cheapness of transit and convenient schedules. The possibilities of the interurban roads are as yet scarcely apprehended by the Northwest. Lines are projected which, if carried out, will gridiron the State and materially change economic conditions.

A recent problem evolved as a result of this enormous railroad development is a contest as to how such vast aggregations of capital and power can be taxed in relation to the other property of the State. In the early days the tax was light and sometimes imperceptible. Prior to 1903 they were taxed on the basis of gross earnings—the license fee system. The legislature of that year, however, as a result of an agitation covering some years, changed to an ad valorem basis. In 1904 the railroads paid a tax of $2,579,290.66.

CHAPTER V

Banks and Banking

WISCONSIN was more favorably situated than other new communities, in that, at the very outset, it produced a surplus which commanded a fair price in honest money in the markets of the world. The lead ore dug from the earth with so little labor and in such large quantities was exchangeable for coin at all times, and the mining towns furnished a convenient market for the surplus products of the farms in the southwestern counties. The lakeshore ports were already inviting commerce, and means for transportation were furnished for all kinds of surplus products, equal if not superior to those available to older communities to the South and East. These favorable conditions, however, seem not to have been apparent, or at least not to have impressed themselves upon the minds of those who controlled the destinies of the new territory. It is not difficult to imagine the arguments that were advanced in favor of more money and its seductive influence upon a people eager for higher prices for their products, and anxious for the rapid development of the agricultural and industrial interests of a new community. An increase in the volume of the currency could be had by the issue of paper money, which could be supplied in sufficient quantities only by banks and banking institutions. There is no evidence, however, that the aversion of the people themselves to such a currency had been overcome, as nowhere in the annals of the territory is there any record of a petition asking for the charter of a bank; and the few institutions that were incorporated seem to have had

the support of strong and influential personality in the territorial legislature. These enactments were secured by the influence of the parties interested, and were not passed in response to any popular demand.

The Bank of Wisconsin, established at Green Bay in 1835, was the first institution of the kind west of Lake Michigan. It was incorporated under an act of the territorial legislature of Michigan, and Morgan L. Martin, a member of that body, was its first president. His official connection with the bank seems to have been rather brief, as shown by its subsequent history. How many charters of like character had been granted by the legislature of Michigan, and of other territories, it would be needless to ascertain; but the practice had grown so common as to challenge the attention of the national administration, and a law was enacted, approved July 1, 1836, which declared that no act passed by the legislature of any territory, incorporating any bank or any institution with banking powers or privileges, should have any effect until approved by Congress—a law still in force.

The territorial legislature of Wisconsin, at its first session in 1836, passed three acts incorporating banks —the Miners' Bank of Dubuque, the Bank of Mineral Point, and the Bank of Milwaukee—and these enactments were promptly approved by Congress. All these institutions were organized and commenced business, and all of them, together with the Bank of Wisconsin, soon ran their course, leaving a vast amount of worthless paper in the hands of a helpless people. A brief refer-

ence to one of the acts of incorporation will serve to illustrate them all, the striking features of which are the combination of influential characters named as incorporators, or rather as commissioners to take subscriptions for stock and to act as directors until their successors were chosen, and the absence of all safeguards for protection of the community against an inflated, fluctuating and worthless paper currency.

The charter of the Bank of Mineral Point was approved December 2, 1836, and confirmed by Congress March 13, 1837. The capital stock was $200,000, divided into shares of $100 each. One-tenth of the subscription was to be paid to the commissioners in specie at the time the stock was subscribed for, and the balance was to be paid in such installments and at such times as the directors should require upon sixty days' notice, but no installments should exceed $10 on each share. There was no requirement that the payments other than the first should be made in specie, and no provisions for enforcing any personal liability against stockholders for the subsequent installments. The bank was not expressly authorized to issue paper money, but the power was assumed to exist as a common-law right, and certain restrictions were attempted to be imposed upon its exercise, but they were practically of no force. There was a provision prohibiting the bank from issuing notes in sums less than $5, and from issuing any such notes until the sum of $40,000 had been paid in by the stockholders as part of the capital. It was further made the duty of the president and cashier, "whenever thereunto required,

to furnish to the legislative counsel" a statement showing among other things the amount of specie in the bank for their redemption. The liabilities which the bank might assume were limited to three times the amount of the capital stock actually paid in, over and above the specie in the vault, and in case of excess the directors responsible therefor were made personally liable for the same. A failure to redeem its bills on demand by the bank in legal specie should work a forfeiture of the charter. Another section of that act limited the rate of interest which the bank might charge to 7 per cent. in advance, which was an implied assurance to the people who were borrowing money at usurious rates that they should derive some benefit from the paper money that was to be issued.

In a new community, with its sparse settlements separated by long distances, with infrequent and irregular communications, these corporations were established clothed with sovereign powers and with absolutely no supervision or check on the part of the territorial government. The dies and plates from which the bills were printed, the printing press and paper were all within the possession and control of irresponsible corporate officers, who issued paper money in such quantities and as rapidly as it could be forced into circulation among the people. Such a condition of things could not exist without challenging the attention of every faithful public officer, who must soon have become aware that no safeguards were provided in these acts of incorporation, and that the powers thereby conferred were being grossly abused to the injury of the public.

Governor Dodge, in his annual message to the legislative assembly, delivered November 27, 1838, recommended an investigation of the condition of the several banks in the territory. He said in that communication: "It is a well-established fact that the banking corporations have it in their power, and do practice the most gross frauds upon the public, by expanding and contracting their issues of bank notes, when they have no present means of redeeming them." He desired that the legislature should take such steps as should secure the people a good currency, a very worthy recommendation, indeed, but one which upon the whole has been found rather difficult of practical application.

A committee of investigation was appointed by the legislature and undertook to examine the three banks then in existence in the territory, but their labors were rendered difficult and practically fruitless by recalcitrant and dishonest bank officials. The officers of the Bank of Wisconsin at Green Bay refused to produce their books or to answer under oath the questions propounded to them by the committee, but showed a determination to conceal the true condition of the bank. They admitted, however, that the bank was not paying specie for its notes, and had not since May, 1837. Henry Stringham, the cashier, submitted a written communication, which was not verified, accompanied by a statement of the bank's financial condition, attempting to explain why the bank was not able to resume simultaneously with the institutions of older States. He claimed that the situation of the people had rendered it necessary to

extend accommodations, and they were not able to make voluntary payments, and that the bank was unable to coerce payments of its debts by reason of stay laws enacted by the legislature which had impaired the value of personal securities by rendering a prompt collection of them impossible. For this reason he said that the bank had not been able to convert its securities into available assets with which to redeem its liabilities. The financial statement furnished by the cashier, but which he refused to verify, however, told a different story. From that partial statement it appeared that the Bank of Wisconsin, with a capital of $39,125, had issued circulating notes which were then outstanding in the sum of $182,498. It had deposits to the amount of $88,250.28, increasing its outstanding obligations, which were subject to immediate payment, to the sum of over $275,000. To meet these demands he claimed the bank had specie to the amount of $29,236.46, and bills of other banks to the amount of $23,123, and other assets which were not fully described, but he refused the committee access to the books or vaults in order that they might verify the accuracy of these figures; and also refused to furnish the names of the stockholders and directors of the bank, from whom, according to this statement, a large amount was due to the bank. It was supposed that James D. Doty was one of the largest holders of stock of the bank. The apparent helplessness of the committee seemed pitiful when, had it seen fit, it could have called to its aid the entire power of the territorial government in order to compel a full disclosure of the condition of this institution.

In respect to the Bank of Milwaukee the committee found that two sets of directors were claiming the franchise granted by the legislature; that only a small amount of capital stock had been paid in, and that there were no available assets to meet the outstanding obligations of the bank. A brief reference to the attempted organization of this institution will illustrate the business methods which prevailed in such matters in those early days, or rather the absence of such methods in transactions of great importance, not only to the parties interested, but to the public at large. The persons named in the charter as commissioners to take subscriptions to stock held their first meeting in January, 1837, and resolved to open books for that purpose, but up to December, 1837, only sixteen shares of stock had been subscribed for and $160 paid in. The financial disasters of that year, there having been a general suspension of specie payment by the banks throughout the country in the month of May, had doubtless discouraged enterprises of this character. In the month of December, however, one James K. O'Farrell, appeared in Milwaukee, claiming to represent Galena bankers or capitalists, and proposed to subscribe for the remaining stock in the bank, amounting to 1,984 shares, provided that he should be appointed fiscal agent, and should be authorized to procure plates for printing circulating notes and books and stationery for the use of the bank. The proposition was promptly accepted, and at the close of the month the book entries showed that all of the stock had been subscribed and 50 per cent. paid in, a number of Milwaukee

gentlemen appearing as the holders of one share each, and the names of some of them being published as directors. O'Farrell is reported as the holder of 1,985 shares, and if one-half the face value had been paid, nearly one hundred thousand dollars of lawful money should have been in the vaults of the bank. The sum actually paid in on such subscriptions was the $160 contributed by the stockholders before Mr. O'Farrell became identified with the enterprise, the remaining payments having been made to O'Farrell, the fiscal agent of the bank, by O'Farrell, its principal stockholder, and the entire transaction was purely fictitious, as soon after developed.

Solomon Juneau was one of the stockholders and directors of the bank, and on December 31, 1837, it was announced that it was open for business, and that he had made a deposit and had paper discounted there. The next day other deposits were made and other directors applied for discounts, and the sum of $3,600 was loaned, but O'Farrell had not apparently set his press in operation to print circulating notes, and the moneys deposited were not sufficient to meet the demands of would-be borrowers. This condition of things seems to have excited the suspicion of the local directors, who were in a majority on the board, and upon February 19, 1838, a resolution was adopted requiring O'Farrell to give bonds for the safe custody of the funds of the bank, making an assessment of 40 per cent. on the stock of the bank, to be paid April 24, at the banking house, and also requiring O'Farrell, as fiscal agent, to lay be-

fore the board on the following morning all books, papers, documents, notes and funds belonging to the bank. O'Farrell defied the authority of the board and refused to comply with its demands. Thereupon the directors met and voted to extend the time of payment on all paper discounted by the bank until January 1, 1839. As this included the paper which the directors themselves had discounted, they must have thereby fortified themselves at their most vulnerable point, and they thereupon adjourned to consider means to circumvent the wily O'Farrell. At a subsequent meeting it was voted to publish a notice warning the public against any The finacial career of Mr. O'Farrell, which had opened so auspiciously, was brought to an untimely end. No assessments were paid upon his stock, the shares were forfeited, and the bank ceased to do business. Little mischief was done, as the circulating notes had not been issued at the time of the collapse. The charter was repealed by the legislature in 1839.

It is interesting to consider what might have been the outcome had O'Farrell been provided with ready money sufficient to supply the demands for discounts until the circulating notes could have been issued, or if he had been engaged in banking as a private enterprise, and had taken with him to Milwaukee an abundant supply of such paper money. The occasion may have been unpropitious, the directors may have been jealous of his prospects, or he may have been disappointed in not receiving outside aid, which, if promptly rendered, would have tided him over the crisis, and have enabled him

to continue a financial career with distinction and success. Who can tell what place O'Farrell might not have filled in Wisconsin history had not the fates been so unkind? Had his efforts been crowned with success, how courageous and enterprising and honorable would his reckless and lawless career have appeared in the eyes of his admiring associates and contemporaries.

The legislative visiting committee was evidently grossly deceived as to the condition of the Bank of Mineral Point, as it was reported to be in a solvent and safe condition when, in fact, it must have been hopelessly insolvent. Samuel B. Knapp, the cashier, had doubtless observed the effect upon the public of the refusal of the officers of the Bank of Wisconsin to permit the committee to examine the books and vaults and to furnish sworn statements of its condition, and he was therefore prepared to supply any information that might be called for, and to offer, with the utmost candor, to verify his figures. He reported only $53,075 of circulating notes outstanding, and claimed the bank held specie in the sum of $36,644.44, and United States Treasury notes in the sum of $7,995.37, and other cash items, making the assets available for the redemption of these bills the sum of $69,498.48. Moreover, he swore that $100,000 of the capital stock had been paid in, and that the bank had never charged more than 7 per cent. on its loans and discounts.

Governor Dodge was evidently not impressed with the reliability of these statements of the cashier, and in his message, delivered December, 1839, he again rec-

ommended that such legal steps be taken as were necessary to ascertain the true condition of the Bank of Mineral Point. The committee to whom this part of the message was referred reported that this was the only legal banking institution then in the territory, and that from the best information in their possession they were of the opinion that it was in a solvent and safe condition.

The Governor took a different view of the matter, and in his messages to the legislature in August, 1840, and in February, 1841, repeated his warnings in respect to the danger threatened by the conduct of the Bank of Mineral Point, especially in the issue of what were denominated "post notes," notes payable at a future day and not on presentation. The charter of the bank was repealed in 1842, but not until after the institution had gone into the hands of receivers, and the cashier had proved himself a defaulter and a scoundrel. He had managed by his apparent candor, by his false statements and fraudulent manipulation of the funds, to mislead the committee and the public as to the true condition of the bank.

Soon after the organization of the Bank of Mineral Point, James D. Doty bought up the stock and gained a controlling interest, many of the shares being purchased at 20 cents on the dollar. In the fall of 1838, or the spring of 1839, this man Knapp and one Peter Bruce went to Mineral Point, and either as purchasers from Doty, or as representatives of his interests, took charge of the institution. In addition to issuing paper money, receiving deposits and discounting notes, the

bank did a considerable exchange business for smelters. The latter bought the ore from the miners and shipped the lead to the South and East, and made their drafts upon their customers at the home banks, which necessitated some time for collection and transmission. To facilitate such exchanges and to gain time for realizing upon the remittances, the bank officials had a pretext for issuing what were called "post notes," referred to in the Governor's message. These were notes issued by the bank for circulation, upon which was written across the face in red ink words indicating that they were redeemable in two or three months after date instead of upon demand. They were accepted with no little grumbling by the tradesmen and miners, who called this paper "red dog currency," for the purpose of designating it from demand bills. Later bills were issued by the bank, payable six months after date, with the time of payment written across the face in blue ink, and they were vulgarly designated as "Blue Bellies." The issue of these "post notes" aroused a storm of indignation and hastened the downfall of a rotten concern. Knapp, the cashier, absconded, but was overtaken at Galena. He had nothing in his possession but a traveling bag and two volumes of Dickens' novels, and the latter he presented to a Mr. Welch, who was then editing a paper at Galena. Something in connection with the gift excited the suspicion of the officer. He insisted on an examination of the books, and found, pasted within the fly leaves, notes and bills of exchange, representing not less than $50,000 of the assets of the bank. One of the receivers of the bank,

W. H. Banks, was deputized to go to St. Louis to collect a large amount of securities, and was never heard of afterwards; whether he absconded or was murdered was never known. Most of the other assets of the bank were absorbed by attaching creditors, and there was little or nothing remaining for the general creditors, many of whom were small bill holders. Moses M. Strong, in his territorial history, states that the loss to the community by the failure of this bank exceeded $200,000, which is probably not an exaggeration. And thus closed the history of banks incorporated under territorial authority.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the bills issued by the banks of the territory of Wisconsin represented all the paper money then in circulation. In each of the different bank statements, which were printed in the reports made by the legislative committee, was embraced circulating notes of banks of other States and territories, and there is no way of ascertaining the quantity of such paper money. As all these banks suspended in 1837, the people of the territory must have suffered prodigious loss by reason of these currencies.

The paper money issued by the Bank of Mineral Point and by the Bank of Green Bay in pursuance of their charters was but a fraction of the amount put in circulation by other institutions within this territory, and that, too, without express authority, or in direct violation of law; but fortunately all such paper was promptly redeemed, and consequently the community suffered no loss, while those engaged in the enterprise reaped large profits.

The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company was incorporated in 1839, and in addition to the usual powers of an insurance company it was authorized to receive deposits, to issue certificates therefor, and to loan money; but was expressly prohibited from exercising banking privileges. This prohibition was disregarded by the manager of the corporation, who at the very outset issued, in exchange for the notes of its customers, certificates of deposit, payable on demand, of the appearance of ordinary bank bills, and in denomination of one, three and five dollars, with the intention that they should circulate as money. The territorial legislatures made vigorous protests against the use of its charter privileges by this corporation, and finally, in 1846, repealed the statute authorizing its existence. This had no practical effect, as the company continued to do a general banking business and to issue its certificates of deposits until 1853, when it was reorganized as a bank under the constitutional laws of the State. In a circular issued by this corporation on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, May 7, 1889, it is stated that its circulating notes were first issued 1840, and that the amount outstanding in March of that year was $41,841, and in March, 1842, $115,673, and that it had reached nearly a quarter million dollars in 1846 ($241,629), and over half a million in 1849 ($592,015); that it exceeded a million dollars in 1851 ($1,027,793), and in 1853 approximated one and one-half million dollars ($1,470,235). This circular says, in respect to these circulating notes, "although unsecured, every dollar presented has been redeemed in gold."

A. Mitchell

The banking companies of Scotland invented the method of issuing their circulating notes, payable on demand in small denomination in exchange for the paper of their customers, and this plan was adopted by Mr. Smith and Mr. Mitchell in their conduct of the business of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company. They did not apparently consider the enterprise an experiment. They claimed to have abundant resources in the subscriptions to capital stock, a majority of the shares being held, as they represented, by capitalists in Scotland. Whether or not these foreign stockholders had any actual existence, the assurance of such substantial support and the immediate supply of specie to redeem all its circulating notes on demand gave this institution an unlimited credit, and its paper soon passed current throughout the entire Northwest. To strengthen and enlarge this credit was the first consideration of those in charge of the company, and offices for the redemption of its notes were established at Chicago, Galena, St. Louis, Detroit and Cincinnati, thus gaining the confidence of the public in the stability of the paper, and extending a business that was proving immensely profitable. The denominations in which the certificates were issued also tended to increase their use and consequently to keep them in circulation. The charters granted to banking institutions by territorial legislatures limited the lowest denomination of circulating notes to $5, necessitating the use of specie for smaller transactions and in making change. The small bills of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company were therefore a

great convenience, supplying the place of silver with retail dealers and farmers.

While excellent business methods must have prevailed in the management of this great financial institution, its ultimate success is doubtless attributable in no small degree to the general prosperity of the Northwest during the early years of its existence. The revival of business after the crisis of 1837 had set in, the wild lands were being occupied and improved, values of all kinds were rapidly advancing, and all investments in real or personal property could not prove otherwise than profitable. Had this enterprise been started in 1837, or even a year later, the history of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company might not have been a record of unprecedented and unparalleled success.

In 1839 an act was also passed by the territorial legislature to incorporate the Mississippi Marine and Fire Insurance Company, under which the incorporators contemplated carrying on a banking business at Sissipee, in Grant County, but the scheme failed and the charter was subsequently repealed.

During the territorial period two private banks were established, and one of them at least issued paper money, all of which was redeemed on presentation.

In 1846 Washburn & Woodman opened a private bank at Mineral Point, issuing circulating notes in addition to its regular business, which continued until 1855, when the firm was dissolved, and the institution was reorganized under the State laws by other parties, and became known as the Iowa County Bank.

In 1847 Samuel Marshall opened a private bank in Milwaukee, and two years later was joined by Charles F. Ilsey, but no paper money was issued by them until the bank was organized under the State banking law.

Mention has been made of the supposed connection of James D. Doty with the Bank of Wisconsin at Green Bay, and the Bank of Mineral Point. In 1841 he was appointed Governor, and in his first message to the territorial legislature showed his hostility to the proceedings that had been taken against those rotten institutions. He first disapproved in strong language the laws by which the monopolies had been created, acts of incorporation granting exclusive privileges to certain persons, "the offspring of the last four years." He called attention to the state of the currency, and questioned whether the people of the territory had been benefited by the destruction of the banks by the legislature and by the introduction of foreign depreciated paper. He thought that an effort should be made to secure specie and notes of specie-paying banks for a circulating medium, by prohibiting the issue of depreciated bank paper. He suggested the establishment by Wisconsin of an institution to be created by herself, whose circulation should be based on specie.

The committee of the council to whom this part of the message was referred agreed with the Governor in a condemnation of monopolies, but said "that these corporations which have yielded the bitterest fruits for the people are not the offspring of the last four years," and that the Bank of Wisconsin, chartered seven years be-

fore, and the Bank of Mineral Point, chartered five years before, pre-eminently demanded the attention of the legislature, and that the acts incorporating those institutions appeared "to have been granted to favor particular persons," and that "they are incorporations to aid speculation." The committee did not concur in the idea conveyed by the Governor that the banks had been destroyed by the legislature, but insisted that the banks had destroyed themselves; and it was of the opinion that any law to prohibit the circulation of depreciated bank paper would be without practical operation, or, at best, serve as an instrument in the hands of the malicious to injure and to annoy their more honest and undesigning neighbors. In respect to the establishment of a bank by Wisconsin, the committee said that the incorporation of another bank was open to the same objection as the Governor had already urged against monopolies, and they quoted from his message language denouncing the scheme: "That it would be an incorporation granting exclusive privileges," that it would be a "combination of political power and wealth," a "petty aristocracy," and that in whatever neighborhood it might be planted, although it might give temporary relief to a few individuals, that the time would soon arrive when it would yield only bitter fruit to the people. The report was therefore against such an act of incorporation. No such act of incorporation was subsequently adopted by the territorial legislature.

The first constitutional convention assembled October 5, 1846, and it was pervaded by a strong sentiment of

hostility towards banks and paper money. Judge E. G. Ryan was chairman of the committee on banks and banking, and submitted a report which, with slight modification, was finally adopted and incorporated in the proposed constitution. It was radical in its restrictions. It prohibited the legislature from conferring upon any corporation banking powers or privileges, and made it unlawful for any person or corporation within the State to issue paper money in any form. It prohibited any branch or agency of any banking institution of the United States, or of any other State or territory, from being maintained in this State, and made it unlawful to circulate, after 1847, any paper money issued without this State of any denomination less than $10, and after 1849 of any denomination less than $20. It was designed to prevent the exercise of banking privileges of any kind by corporations, to permit private individuals to carry on the ordinary business of receiving deposits, making discount and selling exchange, and to interdict entirely the use of paper money in small denominations within the State. This article contributed its share to the defeat of the first constitution as proposed and submitted to the people.

The articles upon this subject incorporated in the second constitution, which was ratified by the people at the election in April, 1847, provided that the question of "bank" or "no bank" should be submitted to a vote of the electors at a general election, and that if a majority of the votes cast upon the subject should be in favor of banks then the legislature should have power to grant

bank charters or to pass a general banking law, provided that no such grant or law should have any force until the same should have been in like manner submitted to and approved by the people. In pursuance of that provision the present general banking law was adopted in 1852, which authorized the incorporation of banks with the power to issue circulating notes. Many such banks were organized, and prior to 1861 the State was flooded by paper money issued by them. The experience of the people with that currency is too familiar to require further notice; it is but the repetition of the history of the folly and loss of attempting to create something out of nothing, of the sufferings of the people by reason of an unstable, fluctuating and depreciated medium of exchange.

When, in 1852, by a substantial majority, the people voted approval of a banking law, similar in its provisions to the banking act of New York, the supervision of the banks of the State was put in the hands of a comptroller. Authority was granted him "to issue to each bank a circulation not to exceed the amount of its capital stock, on the deposit in trust, with the State treasurer, of a like amount of State bonds worth par." If the amounts deposited fell below par, only 90 per cent. of their actual value was to be issued. Personal bonds amounting to 25 per cent. of the capital stock were also required as a further guarantee. Under certain conditions a limited amount of Wisconsin railroad bonds were allowed to be deposited as a currency basis, in like manner as the bonds above named.

It was further provided that the bank comptroller could publicly proclaim in default any bank failing to redeem its bills upon presentation and sell its bonds to redeem them. The new law gave a great impetus to the organization of institutions of this character; in Milwaukee alone thirteen banks were chartered from 1853 to 1860. In all there were 107 in the State, with a circulation of four million dollars. For some time the law worked without difficulty, and even the severe strain of 1857 passed without depreciation of this currency. Finally, however, the banking system of Wisconsin was in great danger of coming into disrepute through the establishment of banks for no other purpose than the issuing of circulation.

"It is true," said John Johnston, in an address before the American Bankers' Association, referring to this period of Wisconsin financiering, "the State law contemplated the redemption in coin of all notes on presentation at the counter of the bank issuing them. That stipulation was easily got around. The banks in question were located in some impassable swamp, or in some dense forest, where no notary who had any regard for nature's first law would dare to go, especially with a large quantity of money. If he had succeeded in reaching the so-called bank, he would have found that the bank was not open a great many days in the week."

When this evil had assumed unbearable proportions, the responsible bankers combined to devise a remedy. The result was that such modifications were brought about in the law, in 1858, as to prohibit the comptroller

from issuing notes, except to banks doing a regular discount, deposit and exchange business in some inhabited town, city or village.

The authority above quoted may be again referred to in tracing the subsequent history of banking. Nothing of moment occurred in the history of banking till 1861, when the first shot on Fort Sumter shook every bank in the Union. More than one-half of the four millions of dollars of Wisconsin banknote circulation was secured by bonds of the Middle and Southern States. To have protested these notes, and to have sold the bonds for a mere nothing would have entailed a serious loss to the holders. To suspend specie payments was impossible, under the State constitution, without a vote of the people at a general election.

As usual in such cases, the legislature found a way over the constitution. The bank comptroller was instructed to take no proceedings against the banks which failed to redeem their circulation. A law was also passed forbidding notaries public to protest the notes of banks until December 1, 1861.

Praiseworthy action was also taken to place the circulation on an unimpeachable basis after December, 1861, by enacting that thereafter none but the bonds of the United States and the State of Wisconsin should be taken as security for circulation, and that thereafter all banks should redeem their issues at Milwaukee or Madison. While the result of this legislation was to place the banks on a firmer footing after December 1, 1861, it left them for more than six months without any specie resumption whatever.

There was therefore no means of testing the standing of the banks, and a bankers' convention was held, which attempted to establish what bank notes it would be safe for the public to take and what it would not. Fifty-seven of the leading banks of the State, desiring to allay public uncertainty and apprehension, published a list of seventy banks whose issues were to be received and paid out as current. This led to the Milwaukee bank riots of June, 1861, when holders of worthless currency stormed two of the banks. Some banks and railroads refused to co-operate with the subscribing banks, and the latter, finding that they were not likely to be successful, had to give up their laudable endeavors.

Jeremiah Rusk was the last bank comptroller. The position was abolished early in the seventies. At present State supervision is exercised through a bank examiner. Many modifications tending to strengthen the State Banking Act have been enacted from time to time. In 1880 the legislature, at the request of Alexander Mitchell, passed a law making the stockholders of any State bank liable to the full amount of their fortunes upon their filing a declaration to that effect. In the financial crisis of 1893 a number of wealthy stockholders, whose interests in banks affected were small, suffered irreparable disaster in consequence of this law.

In the three-quarters of a century during which banking of one sort or another has been conducted in Wisconsin, a series of exciting runs on banks have been witnessed, including those which occurred during periods of national financial crises. The most notable ones oc-

curred in 1849, 1873 and 1903. The run in the year first mentioned was directed against the company known as the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company (later known as Mitchell's bank). The certificates of deposit of this institution, which were issued in denominations as small a $1, passed current all over the Western country. The circulation in 1849 had reached a million dollars, and the two young Scotchmen at the head of the institution, George Smith and Alexander Mitchell, made enormous profits in a country where the rates of interest ranged from 10 to 12 per cent., and even much higher. Bankers and brokers of other States organized runs to ruin them, but the company always redeemed in coin. The Peninsular Bank of Michigan on more than one occasion sent large amounts of the company's circulating notes stealthily by steamboat, but the coin in redemption was ready. Probably the most serious run was one organized by the brokers of Chicago in November, 1849. The circumstances may well be told in the words of an officer of the bank, as related many years later:

"The last day of the month being Thanksgiving Day, George Smith, like a good Christian and patriot, closed his bank. Word was at once sent over the West that the bank had closed its doors, and at the same time the brokers sent on their accumulation of notes to Milwaukee for redemption. Mr. Mitchell had had no warning of the approaching run, but as soon as he knew what was going on he sent for coin, both by land and lake, to meet it. He had a purpose in arranging for

this double line of supply. The steamboat might meet with an accident, or the vehicle on land be waylaid, and all risks were to be avoided; as a matter of fact, the wagon did break down and came in on three wheels. The run had been met successfully before the coin sent for arrived. The depositors never ran the company, but, on the contrary, turned out to assist. Farmers twenty miles away hurried to the rescue with what little coin they could command."

The panic of 1873 passed with surprisingly limited financial wreckage. It required skill and resource, however, on the part of many bankers to avoid disaster. The following episode, as told by the late Senator Philetus Sawyer, will serve to illustrate: "The panic of '73—I remember it very well. I was president of a national bank at Oshkosh, with a capital of $50,000 and about $400,000 of deposits. I felt assured that there was trouble ahead. I arrived home in the evening and at once called the directors together, told them the news, and advised that our bonds be at once converted into currency, in order to be prepared for a run upon the bank. They agreed. I offered to loan them several thousands of my own bonds, and so we managed to get together between $300,000 and $400,000 of bonds. I packed them into my grip, and the same night left for Chicago.

"As soon as the banks opened in the morning I went the rounds trying to exchange the bonds for the currency. Nobody would touch them. They were afraid. They were in our fix exactly. They wanted all the currency

they could lay hands on. So, without waiting any longer, I took the train for New York.

"I went to the bank with which we did business, and, somewhat to my surprise, they agreed to take all the bonds in exchange for currency. They thought there was money enough in New York to help the country out. The bankers were even then sending currency to Chicago. As it turned out, they were not as well off as they thought they were, and I was very lucky in my early deal.

"Well, in less than an hour my grip was emptied of the bonds and filled with currency. I went up to my hotel and paid my bill. While waiting, I bought an afternoon paper. The first news I saw was a dispatch saying that every bank in Chicago had suspended payment. I knew what the effect would be on the country banks, and I made a rush for the telegraph office.

"It had been agreed, before I left home, that if I could not sell the bonds I should wire them that I was very sick; if I sold only part, that I was sick, but should start for home; if I was successful, that I was quite well. I telegraphed, 'Never so well in my life,' and left for home.

"I reached home about seven o'clock in the morning. The day previous there had been some pressure on the bank, but the depositors had been assured that I was on my way back from New York, and that as soon as I arrived depositors would be paid without delay. On receipt of my telegram, they were told that I would be in on the morning train, and that as soon as the bank opened depositors would be welcome.

"Well, I went to the bank and made ready. There was a narrow table in the space behind the counter, standing up against the wall. On this we piled the ledgers and other big bank books, making a pile about two feet high and as many in length. We covered these books with the currency, and on top of that what coin we had, so as to make it look like a solid pile of money. We had enough, anyway, to meet all claims, but we wanted, if possible, to prevent a run.

"In the meantime we sent out some of the bank men and friends of the bank to say that 'Sawyer had got back with a cartload of money.' When the bank opened, thirty or forty persons came running in with checks in their hands. When they saw that pile of money it staggered them. Some stood their ground, notwithstanding, and got their money. Most of them looked sheepish, chucked their checks in their pockets, pretended that they had come in on some other business, or sneaked out without a word. The news soon spread, and although $50,000 was checked out, the whole of it, and more, was redeposited before night. The depositors at the other banks began drawing out and putting in with us, and threatened to run them out.

"So we determined to put a stop to that and not have a panic in the town at all. We conferred with the other banks, and it was agreed to announce that 'Sawyer had brought money enough home to let the other banks have all they needed.' This did the business, and no run was made on any of us."

The business panic of 1893, which swept from one

end of the country to the other, engulfed about two hundred commercial houses in this State, and two scores of banks were forced to close their doors. The panic began with a run on the banks, and during the month of July exciting scenes were an almost daily occurrence. In the beginning Chicago was appealed to for help. The following story, telling how a large sum was brought from there in the record-breaking time of seventy minutes, is taken from a local paper of May 13:

"At exactly 11.20 o'clock an American Express team, bearing a small, iron-bound box, closely guarded by eight men and detectives, hove around the corner of Sycamore and Second streets and approached the side entrance of the bank at a gallop. The animals wheeled about and the big wagon was backed to the curbstone in a moment, just as a squad of police came running around the corner of the bank to aid in keeping back the crowd, who instinctively knew that the gold shipment from Chicago had arrived, and that the little black iron box contained in the neighborhood of half a million dollars. Even the clerks in the bank, attracted by the commotion, for a moment ceased their work and came running to the windows.

"A mighty shout went up that could be heard for several blocks, and immediately the real rush on the bank ceased. The mere sight of that little iron chest did more than all else to restore confidence, and depositors who had a few moments before been vainly struggling to reach the interior of the bank walked out quietly.

"All previous records from Chicago to Milwaukee, or over any other division of the Milwaukee road, were broken with the trip of the gold train. The money came in the charge of the American Express Company, and unusual precautions were taken to insure its safe transportation. The ride through Chicago was a notable one, the wagon containing the chest being driven at a speed along the cobble stones rarely attained by an express wagon. The messengers, armed with Winchester repeating rifles, the flying wagon, and the small iron chest attracted more than ordinary attention in its flight to the Union depot. There the chest and its guardians were hurried to a special train consisting of engine No. 736 and a baggage car, with a passenger coach to steady the train.

"It was several minutes after 10.15 o'clock when Engineer McKay started the train on its journey. Scarce a hundred yards had been traversed before the train was running at very nearly full speed, and the run was maintained out of the Chicago yards, the fastest time ever made by a train within the city. Once out on the prairie the lever was thrown wide open, and there began such a race against time as was never witnessed before. The big, ponderous wheels flew around with a hissing sound, while the escaping steam rang in the ears of the passengers and officers with a roar. The train scarce seemed to keep on the rails. Everything gave way to the special—even the fast passengers were side-tracked at way stations. Not for a moment during the entire journey was the speed of the train slackened

except at the railroad crossings and on entering Milwaukee.

"The big clock at the Union depot denoted twenty-three minutes past eleven o'clock when the train came to a standstill in front of the American Express Company's depot office. The sliding door of the express car shot back and the iron chest was hurriedly placed upon a waiting truck and quickly transferred to an express wagon. The detectives and messengers hastily tumbled in, and away sped the wagon to the bank. It was all done quickly and quietly. Not half a dozen persons were at the depot when the train pulled in, and less than half the number were aware of its significance. But it was a fast ride. The eighty-five miles between Chicago and Milwaukee were covered in seventy minutes."

Unfortunately, confidence was not permanently restored. Banks closed their doors, and securities that had been regarded as worth millions shrank to thousands in actual value. The five Milwaukee banks that failed had $13,700,000 of assets and but $11,700,000 of liabilities; two of them resumed business when the panic had subsided. In but one instance was brazen dishonesty the cause of the wreck, and the culprit was sent to the State prison. Dishonesty was charged in a few instances in other cities of the State, but, on the whole, unforeseen and unavoidable conditions mainly contributed to the business disasters of the year. The storm cleared the business atmosphere and eventually led to more wholesome financial methods in business life.

Until 1905 the course of banking life in Wisconsin

pursued the even tenor of its way. In that year great commotion was caused by the discovery that the trusted president of one of the leading banks in Milwaukee had stolen $1,500,000 of its money and securities. The stockholders made good the shortage, and widespread business disaster was averted. The criminal was sentenced to prison.

CHAPTER VI

Schools and Other Educational Institutions

THE need for schools does not appear to have become manifest until the early part of the nineteenth century. At Green Bay and other points private schools were started, but the children of wealthy families were sent chiefly to Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, and to Catholic schools in Illinois. The end of the Revolution brought the territory of which Wisconsin is a part under American rule. Under the ordinance of 1787 it was declared that schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged. Post schools were started at garrison points and efforts were made to Christianize and educate the Indians. Chief among these schools was that started near Green Bay in 1823 by the missionary society of the Episcopal Church. This took in both whites and Indians, and in time flourished under the direction of the Rev. Eleazer Williams, who later achieved notoriety as the pretended dauphin of France. While Wisconsin was later settled by large numbers of foreigners, the educational character of the State was formed by the American pioneers from New York and New England, who preceded them. Few and scattered though they were, these pioneers yet made brave efforts to establish and maintain schools.

Up to the organization of Wisconsin as a territory, in 1836, the Michigan educational code governed. In that year the first public school within the bounds of Wisconsin was opened in what is now the Second Ward of Milwaukee, being the first and only school organized in Wisconsin under the Michigan law as such. However,

the Michigan code remained undisturbed for some years, though the first legislature as early as 1836 established the University of Wisconsin—on paper—at Belmont, the capital. A dozen years were to elapse before this institution came into actual existence.

From early years up to comparatively recent times Wisconsin had a large number of academies, seminaries and colleges. The academic system of New England was early transplanted to Wisconsin. Many schools were started under church auspices. Parochial schools multiplied, and thus Catholic schools grew to be of considerable importance, as they are to this day. The population being so sparse and so heterogeneous, and many of the schools lacking financial support, the result was a multiplicity of feeble schools which gradually became fewer in number with the State's growing control of education and the rise and growth of the university and high school system. But these institutions, born amid heroic struggles of the early settlers, were influential in raising and maintaining the moral and intellectual life of the people, and on their ruins were built some of the most successful denominational schools of the present day. The early legislatures were, however, liberal with these struggling institutions. Numerous acts were passed incorporating academies and colleges, and much encouragement was shown them. At the second legislative session charters were granted for seminaries in Beloit, Racine, Mineral Point, Depere, Cassville and Green County, the Milwaukee Academy and the Episcopal School of Green Bay. The last named was

incorporated as the Wisconsin University of Green Bay. Later it was known as Hobart University. Many of these institutions were co-educational in character and extended freedom of religious opinion.

In 1837 the first material change in the code was made in the passage of a bill, providing, among other things, that as soon as twenty electors should reside in a surveyed township they should elect three commissioners to lay off districts, call school meetings, and apply the proceeds of the leases of school lands to teachers' wages. Other commissioners and inspectors were to levy taxes, license teachers, etc. In 1838 another change was made, and every town with not less than ten families was made a school district, and required to provide a teacher. But through lack of sufficient funds the schools were poorly organized.

The first free school in Wisconsin was established in Kenosha, then known as Southport, through the efforts of Colonel Michael Frank, descendant of a German revolutionary soldier. He has been called the father of the free school system of Wisconsin. While a member of the Territorial Legislature he introduced a bill, which passed, authorizing the legal voters of his town to vote taxes for the full support of the schools. The act required submission to the people; many meetings were held and much opposition developed. While beaten the first year, the act was carried the next, and thus the first free school of the State was established. In the constitution, framed in 1846, a free school system similar to the present was provided for. After giving an

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address on the advantages of free schools, Dr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, prepared, by request, a draft of a State school system, with the State superintendent at its head. This was accepted, re-embodied in the constitution in 1848, with minor changes, and after the school laws had been revised by Colonel Frank, became the school code substantially as it now exists. It went into effect May 1, 1849. The school officers under this system consist of a State superintendent of public instruction, seventy-three county superintendents, fifty-seven city superintendents and a school board in each district, consisting of a director, clerk and treasurer. The county boards of supervisors determine within certain limits the amount of money to be raised for school purposes. The district clerks report to the town clerks annually, the town clerks to the county superintendents, the county and city superintendents to the State superintendent, who in turn makes an annual report to the Governor.

One of the results of the agitation for better conditions of the rural schools is the State Graded School. In the year 1900 a committee that had been previously appointed by the State Teachers' Association recommended, first, that the system of direct aid to high schools be extended to graded schools not connected with high schools. Second, that State inspection be provided for supervision and perfection of organization of these schools, to the end that they may become in every sense of the word higher rural schools, and thus bring equally to rural districts a realization of higher ideals. Later

HENRY BARNARD.

this suggestion was framed into a bill, and in 1901 the bill became a law. Under this law $60,000 annually is granted as State aid to State graded schools. The number of schools has increased to such an extent that it is not possible for each school to receive the amount first intended, namely, $300 to schools of the first class, and $100 to schools of the second class. At the close of the year 1904 the number of schools had increased so that the first-class graded schools received but $277.95, and the second-class schools $92.65.

In order that the schools may receive State aid, the following requirements must be met:

First, the school must be maintained at least nine months during the year, and the average daily attendance must not be less than fifteen pupils for the entire school year, in two departments, in schools of the second class, and in at least three departments in schools of the first class.

Second, the teachers employed must be competent. The principal of a State graded school of the first class must hold some form of State certificate.

The number of the State graded schools has materially increased every year since the passage of the law. In the year 1903 there were 131 schools of the first class and 194 of the second class. In the year 1904 there were 144 of the first class and 201 of the second class. Preliminary reports received at the office in 1905 show applications of 146 of the first class and 218 of the second class. Nine of the first-class graded schools became high schools in 1903, and twelve became high schools in 1904.

The income of the school fund during the first year of Statehood, as reported by the State superintendent in 1849, was $588, or eight and three-tenths mills per child. Milwaukee County received the largest amount, $69.63, and St. Croix County the smallest, twenty-four cents. The amount of the common school fund in 1904 was $3,609,212.96; the income of the fund, $210,-419.51. The total school fund for the year was $1,500,-408.21. A high school fund of $100,000 is distributed annually among the free high schools.

Various laws have been passed requiring attendance in schools of the State. One enacted in 1879 provided that all children between the ages of seven and fifteen should attend school at least twelve weeks in a year. In 1889 the "Bennett law" was passed, making the requirements still more stringent and recognizing no school in which English was not used. This was unpopular and quickly repealed. By the law of 1891, children between seven and thirteen were required to attend school twelve weeks in a year. In 1903 a new compulsory educational law was passed, requiring attendance of twenty weeks in villages and rural districts and not less than thirty-two weeks in cities.

Wisconsin was the second State in the Union to make constitutional provision for common school libraries. By the statutes of 1849 it was provided that as soon as the total income of the school fund should exceed $30,000, it should be the duty of each town superintendent to appropriate 10 per cent. of the share of his town from the school fund income for district free libraries. The law

was variously modified and did not work very satisfactorily, but of late years has been strengthened. Under the present law, the fund for the purchase of school library books is obtained by a per capita tax of ten cents for each person of school age residing in any school district. Books purchased with this fund must be selected from a list prepared by the State Superintendent. There are now 817,075 volumes in school libraries bought by money obtained by reason of the per capita tax. There are also about 125,000 volumes in school libraries in cities not under the per capita tax.

In 1875 the legislature passed a law providing that any town could establish and maintain not more than two free high schols and providing an annual appropriation not to exceed $25,000 to refund one-half of the actual cost of instruction in such schools. The law met with much favor. During the first year twenty such schools reported, and to these the sum of $7,466.50 was paid, being an average of $373.32 per school. In three years eighty-five such schools reported. In 1904 there were 194. The law was primarily designed to bring to rural neighborhoods the twofold advantage of advanced instruction and a better class of teachers for these schools.

According to the latest report of the superintendent of instruction, there were in Wisconsin in 1904 a total of 766,548 children between the ages of four and twenty. Of these, 460,489 were enrolled in schools. The number of schoolhouses in the State was 7,453 and the number of teachers 13,669. Of these, 1,947 were men and

11,722 women. The average monthly wages of male teachers, outside of cities, was $55.50; of female teachers, $35.26.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY

The establishment of a State university was one of the first propositions which engaged the attention of the first territorial legislature. Gov. Dodge, in his message, recommended that congressional aid be asked for its founding, and the legislature passed an act to locate the university at Belmont. At its second session the following year the legislature passed an act locating it "at or near Madison, the seat of government." At the request of the legislature, congress set apart two townships, or seventy-two sections of land, for its perpetual support. However, it was not until 1848 that the university took visible form, and John H. Lathrop was elected chancellor. The early years of the university were precarious. Supporters of denominational colleges sought to hamper it in every way, urging policies that squandered the university lands and even seeking to have the legislature abolish it altogether and divide the lands among the denominational schools. Compared with the price other States put on their school lands, Wisconsin's were sold very low. Most of the 92,160 acres in the two grants were sold at an average of $3.50 per acre, while Michigan's first sale averaged $22.85.

The breaking out of the Civil War also had a retarding effect on the university's growth. Entire classes of stu-

dents enlisted, the attendance was reduced to fifty, and one year no commencement exercises were held because of the small number of students. It was a serious problem to keep the university afloat. However, in spite of the shortage of funds, the regents, in 1863, established a normal department, and seventy-six young women entered. They were allowed to hear the lectures, but the regular courses were denied them. But a new epoch in the university dates from the day of their entrance. In 1858 Chancellor Lathrop resigned and was succeeded by Prof. Henry Barnard of Connecticut, who also resigned after two years. John W. Sterling was then acting president until 1867, when the institution was reorganized. The reorganization was made in response to the growing importance of the State and was made along broad lines. Dr. Paul A. Chadbourne, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, was chosen president, and an entire new faculty elected, save for Dr. Sterling. The institution entered upon a new lease of life, and during that period Ladies' hall—now Chadbourne hall—was built. Ill health compelled President Chadbourne to resign in 1871.

The Rev. John H. Twombly, of Boston, succeeded him, but resigned in 1874 to return to the ministry, and the Rev. John W. Bascom, of Williams College, succeeded him. He served for thirteen years. Under his administration nearly 600 students were graduated. During his régime co-education became an accomplished fact. The income of the institution was gradually increased and an agricultural experiment station and

school of pharmacy were established. Dr. Bascom resigned in 1887, and was succeeded by Dr. Thomas C. Chamberlin, of the United States Geological Survey. Under his administration of five years the scope of the university was broadened and the post-graduate idea was encouraged.

In 1892 Dr. Charles Kendall Adams was made president, serving until 1901, when ill-health compelled his resignation. During his administration the university was raised from a small college to a great university. During the greater part of the three years following the retirement of Dr. Adams, Dr. E. A. Birge, dean of the college of letters and science, acted as president. In 1903 Dr. Charles Richard Van Hise, of the class of 1879, was elected president by the regents, being the first student of the university to become its head. At the commencement, in 1904, he was inaugurated with much ceremony. At the same time there was celebrated the university's golden jubilee, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of the first class from the university. The exercises attracted eminent scholars from both continents. The growth of the university during its first half century has been notable. From its small beginnings, with one teacher and a half dozen students, it has expanded, until it now claims a student roll of nearly 3,000 students, with a faculty of more than 250 persons, and a total expenditure for 1904 of $771,053.36.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

The first normal school was incorporated in 1849 under the title of the Jefferson County Normal School. This, however, was never organized. In organizing the university in the same year the regents ordained the establishment of a normal professorship. Instruction was to be free to all suitable candidates. Little, however, was done during the next ten years. In 1857 the legislature passed an act appropriating 25 per cent. of the income of the swamp lands to normal institutes and academies. Distribution was made of this income to such schools as maintained a normal department. In 1859 Dr. Henry Barnard, chancellor of the university, was made agent of the normal regents. He pushed the normal work with much vigor. After two years ill-health caused his resignation, however. He was succeeded by Charles H. Allen, who was later made principal of the normal department of the university.

The demand for separate normal schools grew, and the legislature, in 1865, passed an act providing that one-half of the swamp land fund should be set apart as a normal school fund. In 1886 the board of regents was incorporated by the legislature. As there was then a productive fund of $600,000, with an income of over $30,000, it was determined to build several schools. The first normal school was opened at Platteville, October 9, 1886. The other normal schools were located and founded as follows: Whitewater, 1868; Oshkosh, 1871; River Falls, 1875; Milwaukee, 1885; Stevens Point,

1894; Superior, 1896; La Crosse, 1905. Tuition in the normal schools is free to all normal students. There are in the normal schools two courses of study—an elementary course of two years and an advanced course of four years. The normal schools are constantly increasing in size and importance. The total number of graduates from elementary courses had reached a total of 2,197 in 1904; advanced graduates, 4,416, making a total of 6,613.

The total expenses of the normal schools for the year ending June 30, 1905, were $315,084.72; institutes for the year ending June 30, 1905, cost $14,004.32. The total number of persons on the payroll of the schools was 201, the payroll amounting to $232,295.70. The total annual income was $344,000.

The State superintendent is authorized by law to grant to all graduates of the State normal schools and graduates of certain courses of the State university, licenses to teach, good for one year in any public school in Wisconsin. On presentation of satisfactory evidence of good moral character, and at least eight months' successful experience in the public schools of Wisconsin, these normal school and university diplomas may be countersigned, which gives them the force and effect of unlimited State certificates.

COLLEGES AND ACADEMIES

In his report for 1904, the State superintendent lists seventeen colleges, academies and seminaries, with a total

instructional force of 259, with 2,651 students attending during the year, 246 graduates for the year, 3,363 since organization and 117,332 volumes in their libraries. The leading academic institutions are: Carroll College, Waukesha, Presbyterian, organized in 1846; Wayland Academy, Beaver Dam, Baptist, 1845; St. Francis Seminary, near Milwaukee, Roman Catholic, 1856; German and English Academy, Milwaukee, 1850; Milwaukee Academy, Milwaukee, 1864; Milwaukee College for Women, Milwaukee, 1848; Nashotah House, Nashotah, Episcopalian, 1847; St. Clair's Academy, Sinsiniwa Mound, Roman Catholic, 1847; Concordia College, Milwaukee, Lutheran, 1881; Marquette College, Milwaukee, Roman Catholic, 1864.

Beloit College was founded in 1847 under Congregational and Presbyterian auspices. It is now undenominational. For nineteen years, and until November, 1905, Dr. Edward D. Eaton was its president. Recently the college has become co-educational. It has a faculty force of twenty-seven and has graduated 782 students.

Lawrence University, at Appleton, was organized in 1850 under Methodist auspices, having received a liberal bequest from Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston. Dr. Samuel Plantz is the president. It has a faculty of twenty-four and has graduated 595 students.

Ripon College was founded in 1864 by the Congregationalists, having previously been Brockway College, organized in 1853. It is open to both sexes and has a flourishing preparatory department.

Milton College and Milton Academy are sustained

by the Seventh Day Baptists, under the presidency of W. C. Daland. The graduates number 295. The academy was founded in 1848, and the college in 1867.

Racine College was founded by Episcopalians, in 1852, under the Rev. Roswell Park. It was designed in part to train young men for the Nashotah Seminary, being chiefly a boys' school, modeled after the English pattern.

Carroll College, Waukesha, was established by the Presbyterians in 1846. Its work is confined chiefly to academic studies.

The most important school for young women alone is the Milwaukee-Downer College, founded in 1895. It is non-sectarian. Miss Ellen C. Sabin is president. The faculty numbers thirty, and there have been 363 graduates.

Under a law passed by the legislature of 1905, commercial schools pursuing a prescribed course can be placed under the superintendent system and be credited accordingly. There is growing sentiment among business men in favor of commercial courses in high schools. In 1903 there were less than twenty high schools offering commercial courses, but the number has increased somewhat since then.

SCHOOLS FOR DEPENDENT CLASSES

The State of Wisconsin was not slow in providing for the educational needs of its dependent classes. As early as 1849 an institute for the blind was established at

Janesville by citizens of that place, later passing into the hands of the State and having been retained as such to the present time. Its purpose is to give a common school industrial training to blind children, and has enabled many such to become self-supporting.

At nearly the same time a private school for deaf-mutes was established at Delavan in the same manner and made a State institution in 1852. A public school for deaf-mutes was also opened at Milwaukee, and in 1888 at La Crosse, and 1890 at Oshkosh.

There are now seventeen day schools for the deaf in Wisconsin, located at Appleton, Ashland, Black River Falls, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, La Crosse, Marinette, Milwaukee, Neillsville, Oshkosh, Racine, Rhinelander, Sheboygan, Sparta, Superior and Wausau.

Until the last session of the legislature, the authority to organize and establish these schools rested with the city council or village board, but this law was amended and the control of the day schools for the deaf was given to the board of education of the city or village in which the school is located.

The industrial school for delinquent and incorrigible boys was opened in 1857 at Waukesha. The Wisconsin industrial school for girls was organized in Milwaukee in 1875, the city of Milwaukee furnishing the site and the legislature appropriating $15,000 for a main building. This school is not managed by the State, but by a board of women. Many children were committed prior to 1886 through no fault, but simply because they lacked homes or guardians. That these might not be

kept in the category with the wayward and incorrigible, the State public school for dependent and neglected children was opened in Sparta in 1886. Two years later a kindergarten was organized here. The purpose of this school is to teach the children according to the course of the graded schools of the State and then place them in good families.

To meet the wants of another and growing class of dependents, the State school for feeble-minded was founded at Chippewa Falls in 1897.

A State school that passed out of existence in 1875 was the soldier's orphan home, built on the shores of Lake Monona, in Madison, and opened in 1866. The total appropriations made by the legislature for its support were $342,300. During its existence it sheltered 683 orphans of Wisconsin soldiers.

THE KINDERGARTEN MOVEMENT

The kindergarten movement had its beginning in Wisconsin in the early years of the State, and to Wisconsin belongs the distinction of having the first kindergarten in the country. This was a small private school opened in the home of Mrs. Carl Schurz, then of Watertown, Wis., in 1855. Mrs. Schurz's sister, Madam Ronge, was largely instrumental in introducing the kindergarten into England in the early fifties. Due credit is given Mrs. Schurz by Miss Vandewalker, in her history of the kindergarten movement in Wisconsin, and by other writers on the subject. Mrs. Schurz had studied the

system in Hamburg under Froebel himself, and before coming to this country had been associated with her sister, Mrs. Ronge, in conducting a kindergarten in London. It is interesting to note, also, that the attention of the American public was first called to the new system by a report by Dr. Henry Barnard, in the Journal of Education of the London Kindergarten exhibit made by Madam Ronge. As early as 1851, the founders of the German-American Academy at Milwaukee, among whom were many men of culture and education, had discussed the desirability of establishing a kindergarten, but it was not until twenty years later that the idea was realized and the first kindergarten in Wisconsin, except the private one by Mrs. Schurz, was opened.

The kindergarten idea was not confined to Milwaukee. C. F. Viebahn, county superintendent of Sauk county from 1868 to 1872, was an advocate of the system, and in 1873 a kindergarten was opened in Baraboo. In 1872 Mr. Viebahn was called to the superintendency of the Manitowoc schools and was instrumental in starting the first kindergarten in the public schools of the State. This was opened in 1873, with Miss Emily Richter in charge.

The first English kindergarten in Milwaukee was established in the Unitarian church in that city by Mrs. W. N. Hailman, whose husband, in 1874, was elected president of the German-American Academy and who lent himself enthusiastically to the new idea in education. He had been impressed by the success of the system in St. Louis, where it was established by the German ex-

iles who had settled in that city. James MacAlister, superintendent of the schools in Milwaukee, realizing that the need of a large number of school children in Milwaukee was not met by the customary first-grade work, became an earnest advocate of the kindergarten idea. Miss Sarah A. Stewart, principal of the Milwaukee city normal school, also became an advocate of the idea, and enough interest was aroused to lead to the establishment, in 1879-80, of a kindergarten in the training school. In 1882 it was made part of the school system of Milwaukee.

The success of the system in Milwaukee had its effect on other cities, and they fell into line. Sheboygan was the first to follow the lead. Then came Berlin in 1885, Burlington in 1887, Bayfield, Baraboo and Lake Geneva in 1888, Hayward in 1889, Racine and Dodgeville in 1891, Marinette and Wauwatosa in 1893, Fond du Lac in 1894 and Oshkosh in 1895. In the past half dozen years many cities have adopted them, so that now the kindergarten is part of the public school system in more than eighty cities and towns in the State. In 250 or more public kindergartens there are 20,000 children enrolled. The movement can thus be seen to be well under way and promises to make a great advance in the future.

The first kindergarten to be opened in a normal school was organized at the Oshkosh Normal in May, 1880, with Miss Laura Fisher, now supervisor of kindergartens in Boston, as director. It was used as a school of observation mainly, and no kindergarten training course was attempted, since there was no call for trained kin-

dergartners. A similar experiment was soon after made at the Platteville Normal. Kindergartens have now been established in six of the seven normal schools in the State. In only one, however—that at Milwaukee—is a training school for teachers maintained.

MANUAL TRAINING

Manual training is a phase of educational work that has been developed in Wisconsin in the past two decades chiefly. Educators are quite generally agreed as to the value of such training, and it has come into not only the high schools, but the graded and district schools. The tendency now seems to be to apply it principally to the lower grades. Industrial drawing, domestic science for girls, and the use of tools by boys are the practical ends sought. The most notable example of the application of this idea of education is found at the Stout Normal Training School at Menomonie, Wis., established through the munificence of Senator Stout. To encourage the introduction of this work the State gives special aid to schools adopting manual training, and last year fifteen cities availed themselves of the opportunity offered. It has become the policy of the State to grant aid to high schools, offering manual training in wood and mechanical training for boys and work in sewing and cooking for the girls, providing manual training is gradually extended to the grades.

A new department is the establshment of the county schools for agricultural and domestic economy. The

legislature provided for two of these. One was located at Menomonie, Dunn County, and one at Wausau, and both have promising futures. It is expected others will soon be established.

Instruction in agriculture has, for the biennial period just closed, received much attention in the Teachers' institutes. On the first of January, 1902, a law went into effect requiring all applicants for certificates to teach in country schools to pass an examination in the elements of agriculture. Reports go to show that, generally speaking, the teachers have met this requirement surprisingly well.

County training schools for teachers is a new idea in education, which has grown out of the institute system. Its purpose is the development of ideal rural school teachers. The idea was crystallized into legislation in 1899, and now seven counties have such schools—Buffalo, Dunn, Marathan, Manitowoc, Richland, Waupaca and Wood. In the main these schools serve as feeders to the normal schools.

The Eau Claire high school, it is believed, can claim the distinction of being the first of the public schools of the State to institute manual training. This was begun in a small way in a room in the basement of the school building in the latter eighties. About 1888 James H. Stout, a millionaire lumberman and philanthropist of Menomonie, Dunn county, became interested in the new system of education and, with R. B. Dudgeon, now superintendent of public schools at Madison, Wis., began plans for the establishment of a school at which boys

might be taught the useful arts of handicraft. Mr. Dudgeon spent the greater part of a year studying the system in its various forms of operation in the East. The best points that were practicable were adopted and gradually incorporated into the new school. From this beginning the great Stout Manual Training School has grown to its present proportions. Senator Stout's contributions to the school foot up to about $200,000. The school is supported and under the management of the city of Menomonie as part of its school system. The work pursued is varied in character and extended to both sexes. The experiment—it can hardly be called so any longer—is the only one of its particular kind in the State, and is taken as a model by many students of the system.

Manual training is now installed in many of the high schools of the State and growing in importance. The following schools in Wisconsin received State aid for manual training during the year just closed: Appleton, Chippewa Falls, Bayfield, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Grand Rapids, Janesville, Marinette, Mayville, Menomonie, Oconomowoc, Racine, Superior, Wausau and Washburn.

One of the important educational movements fostered by the State and by the municipalities is that represented by free public libraries. In 1895 there were but twenty-eight; the number in 1905 is 127. In 1895 but three libraries were housed in their own buildings. There are now fifty-seven library buildings erected or provided for. The total amount given for library buildings is $2,291,-

300, of which Andrew Carnegie has provided $668,500.

When the library commission was established, there were no traveling libraries in the State. There are now about 300. The State also maintains, through the commission, a library training school and a legislative reference department.

CHAPTER VII

In the World of Letters, Science and Art

BRIEF as has been the period of its Statehood, Wisconsin has made generous contribution to the world of letters, science and art. The printed output has been surprisingly large —whether in the form of books or in the more ephemeral guise of pamphlets and broadsides. In 1893 the State Historical Society compiled a bibliography of Wisconsin authors, and more than 8,000 entries were included in this formidable list. Since then the number has at least doubled. There is one private collection which comprises no less than two hundred books of verse credited to Wisconsin authors. This term may be said to include writers who were born in Wisconsin or who have at some time made the State their home.

Doubtless most of the printed matter referred to is mere literary flotsam, and but a small portion of it will survive beyond the life of the writers, but there is not lacking a fair proportion of creditable prose and verse. The unconsidered trifles that mark the beginnings of literary endeavor in any new community are interesting especially as indicating the development from the era of frontier life to a settled condition of society. The first crude efforts are important only because of their historical association, but in that connection they possess a distinct place in the history of literature for any locality. It is only in this particular that the early literature of New England and of the Revolutionary period is worthy of preservation, and the same is true of the first efforts in print that found circulation in Wisconsin, and in all of the States of the Middle West.

The most valuable and permanent contribution to literature by Wisconsin authors is that which is credited to Wisconsin historians. These have been University professors mainly, who have used the Historical Society as a laboratory. The facilities for research among the immense accumulations of manuscript and printed sources available here have enabled them to add much to the world's knowledge of history, and much of their work is valuable in that the subjects are presented from the viewpoint of trained investigators and writers. Among the names that most readily occur as belonging to the group of Wisconsin historians are the following:

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor of the "Jesuit Relations," "La Hontan's Travels," Hennepin's memoir and contemporary narratives, dealing with the early Canadian period; editor of "Early Western Travels;" also author of numerous books on American history.

Professor Frederick J. Turner, whose valuable contributions to the history of the changing American frontier have given a new meaning to that significant phase of American history.

Dr. Charles Kendall Adams, a recognized authority in his day on Columbus and other historical topics.

Professor William Francis Allen, the most prolific and one of the most scholarly of Western historians.

Consul Willshire Butterfield, author of "The Discovery of the Northwest in 1634," editor of "The Washington-Crawford Letters," etc.

Serious and valuable historical work has also been done by a long list of writers whose researches have been

Lyman C. Draper

utilized in monographic form. Among these may be mentioned the members of the Parkman Club, whose series of pamphlets appeared in 1895-6. There is, of course, a great mass of material in book form dealing with local history, some of which is worthy of inclusion in a form more enduring than ephemeral brochures.

In the allied field of economics and political science mention must not be omitted of the books written by Dr. Richard T. Ely, Professor John R. Commons and Dr. Paul Reinsch.

Scientific books of recognized value have been written by the following Wisconsin men and women, the list here given being necessarily incomplete:

Dr. George W. Peckham and Mrs. Elizabeth G. Peckham, numerous works dealing with the habits of wasps and spiders of certain families. Their work is recognized in this country and in Europe as authoritative in their special field.

Increase A. Lapham, works on botany and other departments of science.

President C. R. Van Hise, Roland Duer Irving, T. C. Chamberlin and R. D. Salisbury, works dealing with the geology of the Northwest.

Dr. Nicholas Senn, books on surgery.

John Muir, books descriptive of the glaciers in the Northwest region, etc. John Muir's boyhood was spent in Central Wisconsin.

Carl Jonas, of Racine, compiled the first Bohemian-English dictionary ever issued. Mrs. Susan Stuart Frackleton's work on pottery, "Tried by Fire," is re-

garded as the best on that subject, at least as regards the art in this country. The translations of Professor Rasmus B. Anderson from the Scandinavian have been widely commended, as have Jeremiah Curtin's translations from the Polish, including the chief novels of Sienkiewicz. Gerhard Balg wrote a scholarly work on the syntax and glossary of the first Germanic Bible and a comparative glossary of the Gothic Bible.

In the domain of fiction the output has been neither large nor especially noteworthy, though some novels of average merit are not wanting. The first novel by a Wisconsin author appeared in 1857, and was published anonymously, the title being as follows:

"Garangula, the Ongua-Honwa Chief: A Tale of Indian Life among the Mohawks and Onondagas Two Hundred Years Ago." By a Citizen of Milwaukee. Milwaukee, 1857.

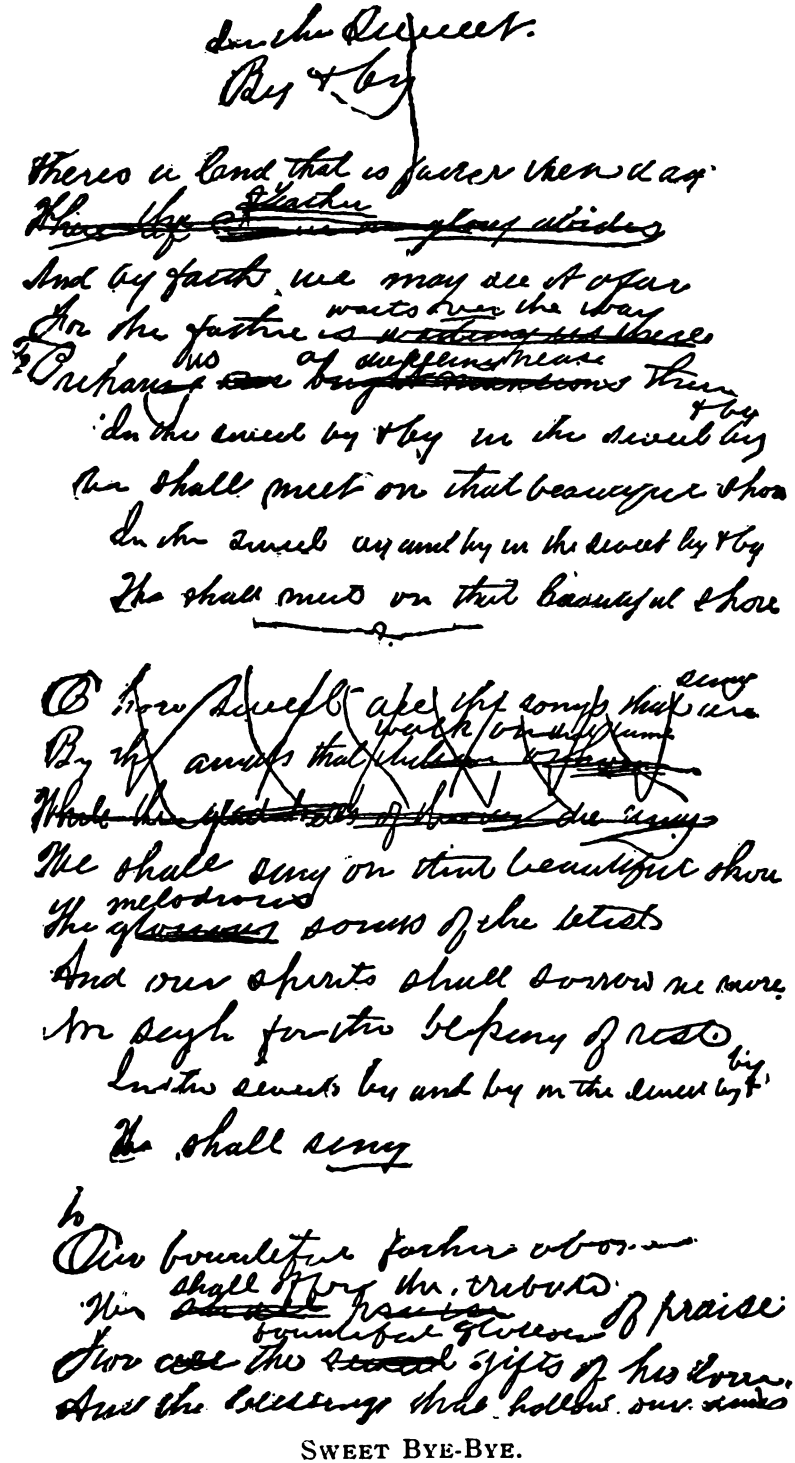
The list of Wisconsin writers of fiction includes the following:

Colonel Charles A. King, author of about fifty stories, chiefly delineating life in army posts and war-time episodes. The best known of these are "The Colonel's Daughter" and "Between the Lines."

Hamlin Garland, author of "Prairie Folks," "A Member of the Third House," "The Spirit of Sweetwater," etc.

William Henry Bishop, author of "The Golden Justice," etc.

Charles Keeler Lush, author of "The Federal Judge," "The Autocrats," etc.



SWEET BYE-BYE.

Charles D. Stewart, author of "The Fugitive Blacksmith."

Elizabeth Jordan, author of "Convent Tales," etc.

Elliott Elmore Peake, author of "The Darlingtons," "The Pride of Tellfair," etc.

Others who may be mentioned as having written one or more books of romance, adventure or of purpose in the form of fiction are Colonel John Hicks, Mrs. Ella Giles Ruddy, Mrs. Beulah Brinton, Frank C. Culley, Mrs. Mary Holland Kinkaid, Mrs. Florence Campbell, Mrs. Elizabeth Baker Bohan.

Perhaps in the list of Wisconsin writers of fiction should be included Mrs. Emma Dorothy Elize Nevitte Southworth, one of the most prolific writers for women of a sentimental mould who ever found a printer. She was at one time a school teacher in Platteville. Mrs. Southworth produced novels by the dozen, sometimes turning out three a year. She continued at this rate until she was an octogenarian.

Among the successful writers for children are included Colonel C. A. Curtis, Mrs. Warren R. Anderson, Mrs. Aubertine Woodward Moore, Mrs. Kate Upson Clark.

Writers of humor include the following:

"Brick" Pomery, author of "Sense and Nonsense," "Brickdust," etc.

"Bill" Nye, author of a large number of humorous books. One of them he introduces thus:

"Go, little book,
Bearing an honored name;
And everywhere that you have went
They'll know that you have came."

William F. Kirke, author of "The Norsk Nightingale," "Fleeting Fancies," etc.

George W. Peck, author of "Peck's Bad Boy," "Uncle Ike," etc.

The list of essayists is led by Neal Brown, author of "Critical Confessions." Writers of homely philosophy gathered into book form include Lute Taylor, John Nagle and "Uncle Dick" Petherick.

Two songs of national circulation have emanated from Wisconsin: "Silver Threads Among the Gold," written by Eben E. Rexford, of Shiocton, and "In the Sweet By and By," written by S. Fillmore Bennett during his residence in Elkhorn. In his later years the author of this song became totally blind. The original manuscript copy of this song passed into the posession of J. E. Burton, of Lake Geneva. How the song came to be written is thus told by Mr. Bennett in a letter to Mr. Burton:

"It was about time for closing business in the evening that J. P. Webster, whose melodies have made Wisconsin famous, came into the store feeling somewhat depressed. I said to Webster, 'What is the matter, now?' He replied, 'It is no matter; it will be all right by and by.' The idea of the hymn came to me like a flash of sunshine, and I replied: 'The Sweet By and By; why would not that make a good hymn?' 'Maybe it would,' he said, indifferently. I then turned to my desk and penned the hymn as fast as I could write. In the meantime two friends, N. H. Carswell and S. E. Bright, had come in. I handed the hymn to Mr. Webster. As he read it his eyes kindled and his whole demeanor

Silver Threads Among the Gold.

Darling, we are growing old.
Silver threads among the gold
Gleam upon your brow today —
Life is fading fast away.
But, my darling, you will be
Always young and fair to me!

When your hair is silver-white,
And your cheeks no longer bright
With the roses of life's May,
I will kiss your lips and say —
With perhaps a smile and tear, —
"Fairer grows your face each year!"

Love like ours cannot grow old
Locks may lose their brown and gold,
Cheeks may fade, and steps grow slow,
But our love no change will know
What care we for winter's frost? —
Summer stays, though youth is lost!

Eben E. Rexford.

SILVER THREADS AMONGST THE GOLD.

changed. Stepping to the desk he began writing the notes instantly. In a few moments he requested Mr. Bright to hand him his violin, and he played with little hesitation the beautiful melody from the notes. A few moments later he had jotted down the notes for the different parts and the chorus. I do not think it was more than thirty minutes from the time I took my pencil to write the words before the hymn and the notes had all been completed, and we four gentlemen were singing it exactly as it appeared in the 'Signet Ring' a few days later, and as it has been sung the world over ever since."

A notable group of German poets made Wisconsin their home in the early fifties. In that stirring period of stress and storm, when the German revolution sent a hundred thousand political refugees and their sympathizers into exile in America, many of them were attracted to Wisconsin. They became known as the Forty-Eighters. Most of them were men of education and many of them of rank. There were among them many college professors, journalists, men of high literary attainments, university students belonging to noble families, who sacrificed home, fortune, position and brilliant prospects in order to secure liberty of thought and action.

About this time Moritz Schoeffler's German printing office in Milwaukee was turning out thousands of pamphlets descriptive of Wisconsin's attractiveness. These were distributed in the various provinces of Germany and guided thousands of immigrants to the new State. In Milwaukee German immigrants arrived by the hundreds every week. German schools were established;

German newspapers multiplied; German art, German song, German literature and German social life received an impetus that caused Milwaukee to become known as the "German Athens of America." The "Banner und Volksfreund" established a department which it called "Wisconsin's Deutsche Dichterhalle" (Wisconsin's German Temple of Poesy), and the ready pens of the exiles contributed thereto a mass of literature of great originality, richness and beauty. About the same time Bernhard Domschke issued the initial numbers of the "Corsar," and Christian Esselen launched his high-class periodical called "Atlantis." The most intellectual and gifted German-Americans were spurred to literary endeavor, and naturally an interesting literary group was formed in Wisconsin. Some of its members have found a permanent niche in the German hall of letters.

A curious literary war, having its storm center in Milwaukee, was waged about this time in the United States. It was known as the war of the Grays and the Greens. The former were the old conservative Germans, leaders of the earlier immigration, whose ideas were rooted in religion. The Greens were the Forty-Eighters, chiefly idealists and extreme radicals, whose bitter sarcasm and vitriolic humor disturbed, but did not vanquish, the less ready-tongued Grays. Old residents of Milwaukee recall a favorite tavern on Market street where the Grays and the Greens were wont to foregather to pursue with tongue the arguments begun with pen. The Grays did not lack earnestness and faith,

but what they wrote was not literature. The Greens clothed their writings in form to please as well as to appeal to reason.

The Greens were indeed a notable group of writers. Some years ago, under the auspices of the leading Chicago German-Americans, there was compiled a critical anthology of German-American literature. In the period devoted to the Forty-Eighters thirty-one poets have been deemed worthy of representation. Seven of them were residents of Wisconsin, including Madame Mathilde Anneke, Konrad Krez, Edmund Maerklin, Ernst Anton Zuendt, Augustus Steinlein, Rudolph Puchner and Henricus von See (Wilhelm Dilg). The heart and soul of this notable group, which included many other members of minor poetic talent, was Madame Anneke. This gifted woman, whose energetic nature and rare sympathies were freely at the disposal of the weary and the heavy-laden, exerted an influence upon those who came within the influence of her circle that was truly remarkable. Sorrow and disappointment pursued her from childhood, but she faced every succeeding misfortune with cheerful courage, inspiring her associates with like spirit. But in her verses she poured out the feelings of her heart.

An unhappy early marriage, and consequent legal struggle to obtain possession of her child, led her to warmly espouse equal legal rights for women. She established in Germany what was doubtless the pioneer woman's rights journal. The government promptly suppressed it. Her second husband, Fritz Anneke, was

a Prussian officer whose sympathies were enlisted in the cause of the revolutionists of '48. When Anneke was imprisoned at Cologne, awaiting trial on the charge of treason, Madame Anneke sold furniture and carpets and bought a printing press, editing a revolutionary newspaper till forced to fly for safety. In the meantime her husband had been liberated, and she joined him in the field. She accepted a place on his staff, of which Carl Schurz was also a member. Madame Anneke served till the end of the struggle, saw many battlefields, and was in the thickest of the fray, doing a soldier's duty and sharing all the hardships of her soldier husband. They were forced to flee for their lives, finding haven first in France, then in Switzerland. In 1849 they came to America. Madame Anneke lectured to large audiences in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. In the fifties she began the publication of the "Frauenzeitung." The later years of her life were devoted to educational work. She died in Milwaukee in 1884.

One of the talented members of Madame Anneke's circle was Edmund Maerklin. In the revolution of '48 he served on Franz Sigel's staff. He was a personal friend of such well-known German literary men as Uhland, Schwab, Kerner and Herwegh. He was the author of many keen satires. His celebrated poem, "Der Deutsche Cavallerist," written when Vicksburg capitulated, is said to have been reprinted at the time in every German newspaper published in North America.

Konrad Krez was a young exile who left his father-

Green-Bay Intelligencer.

VOL. I. NAVARINO, WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 11, 1833. NO. 1.

FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF UPPER HALF OF PAGE OF THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN WISCONSIN (1833).

land under sentence of death at the age of twenty, but whose heart remained rooted in German soil till the day of his death—and he lived to nearly the allotted three score years and ten. His exquisite lyric, "An Mein Vaterland," has been reprinted in every German anthology that has appeared since the day the poem was first published. There is not in the German language a poem that conveys so poignantly the feeling of *heimweh*. The chaste and simple words stir one powerfully with the pathos of the exile's cherished love for a fatherland which he can never see again. The verses have been set to music by two composers, Th. Rudolph Reese and Richard Ferber. Several translations of the poem into English have appeared. The story is current that the German emperor chanced upon Krez's poem in a German publication, and was so affected by its pathos that he caused the restrictions applicable to the return of the revolutionists of '48 to be greatly modified.

Of the few writers who antedated the Forty-Eighters, mention may be limited to Carl de Haas, of Fond du Lac, and Alexander Conze, of Milwaukee. The latter gave promise of a great poetic gift, but he found a soldier's death in Mexico when but twenty-eight years of age.

The names that most readily occur of the recent school of German poets are Frank Siller, Otto William Soubron and Julius Gugler. Mention must not be omitted of the excellent translations which American poetry has been given by them—chiefly by Siller and Soubron. Longfellow's poems have been favorites in this par-

ticular. William Dilg translated "Hiawatha" and Frank Siller "Evangeline." In the latter, Longfellow recognized the best of the numerous German versions of his Acadian poem. It preserves not only the spirit of the original, but renders in like meter practically a literal translation of the story, with all its idioms and characteristics. Siller translated from many languages. His paraphrases of thirteen quatrains from Omar Khayyam were among the earliest attempts of the kind in America.

Of the writers of verse in English, mention must be limited to a few Wisconsin writers whose work ranks above the great mass of rhyme which has found its way into print. Reduced to this limit, the formidable list is not large. Probably most critics would select the following as entitled to rank among the first eight of the two hundred and more writers who have essayed this form of literature:

James Gates Percival—a poet of national reputation in his day; author of "A Dream of a Day," "Clio," etc. His poem, "The Coral Grove," and one or two others, may be found in nearly half a hundred anthologies.

Hamlin Garland—a native and resident of West Salem; author of "Prairie Songs" and "Along the Trail."

Ella Wheeler Wilcox—a native of Dane County; author of "Drops of Water," "Shells," "Poems of Passion," etc.

John Leslie Garner, of Milwaukee, author of "Strophes of Omar Khayyam," published in 1888, and republished a few years ago in England; regarded as

one of the best paraphrases from the Persian, as it was the first by an American author.

John Goadby Gregory, of Milwaukee, author of "A Beauty of Thebes" and other felicitous poems.

Mark R. Forrest, of Milwaukee, author of "Bubbles and Dreams."

Mrs. Ellen Palmer Allerton, whose girlhood home was in Wisconsin; author of "Poems of the Prairies." Her "Walls of Corn" had a wide vogue in its day.

Charles A. Keeler, a native of Wisconsin; author of "Idyls of Eldorado," "A Light through the Storm," and several other books of verse.

The year that Wisconsin assumed Statehood, 1848, there was issued the first book of rhyme written by a resident. It was Elbert Herring Smith's pretentious volume on "Black Hawk," the curious history of which is told in Wheeler's "Chronicles." It was not until 1862 that a book of verse appeared written, printed and bound in the State. This was "Teone," a book containing 259 pages, long ascribed to the authorship of Mary Ann Smith, but really the work of her father. The same year appeared Carrie Carlton's "Wayside Flowers," also printed in Milwaukee. Ella Wheeler's "Shells," issued from a Milwaukee press in 1873, was preceded by Michael Quigley's "Friar's Curse" in 1870. Mary H. C. Booth's "Wayside Blossoms" came out in 1864, but was printed in Germany. B. I. Dorward's "Wild Flowers," 1872, was printed in Milwaukee. Since 1865 the output of books of verse has been large. Not counting pamphlets and excluding Percival's many books is-

sued before he came to this State, the first books whose authorship entitles them to a place in a bibliography are the following:

PRINTED IN WISCONSIN BEFORE 1875

"Voyage of Père Marquette," by Elizabeth Farnsworth Mears. Fond du Lac, 1860.

"Teone," by "Rusco." Milwaukee, 1862. ("Daily News" print.)

"Wayside Flowers," by "Carrie Carlton." Milwaukee, 1862. Published by Strickland & Co. Jermain & Brightman print.

"The Friar's Curse," by Michael Quigley. Milwaukee, 1870. "Evening Wisconsin" print.

"Wild Flowers of Wisconsin," by B. I. Dorward. Milwaukee, 1872. "Sentinel" print. Published by the "Catholic News" Co.

"Shells," by Ella Wheeler. Milwaukee, 1873. Published by Hauser & Storey.

"Poems of a Day," by A. M. Thomson. Milwaukee, 1873. "Sentinel" print.

"Oswald Grey," by J. T. Breese. Milwaukee, 1873.

PRINTED ELSEWHERE BEFORE 1875

"Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak; or Black Hawk, and Scenes of the West," by a Western Tourist. New York, 1848.

"Home Ballads," by Abby Allin. Boston, 1851.
"Jerusalem," by Rev. Roswell Park, D.D. New York, 1857.
"A Tribute to Kane," by George W. Chapman. New York, 1860.
"Wayside Blossoms," by Mary H. C. Booth. Heidelberg, 1864.
"Flowers and Leaves," by A. A. Hoskin. Chicago, 1867.
"Elva Lee," by Maurice McKenna. Chicago, 1868.
"Before the Dawn," by C. R. Burdick. Buffalo, 1872.
"Drops of Water," by Ella Wheeler. New York, 1872.
"Immortelles," by J. O. Barrett. Boston, 1874.

Thus, previous to 1875, but eight books of verse were issued from Wisconsin presses. All but one of these were printed in Milwaukee. The list of Wisconsin verse books printed elsewhere previous to 1875 numbers ten. Since 1875 Wisconsin writers of verse have published more than two hundred books.

For several months in 1886 there was a curious controversy in the press of the United States relative to the authorship of the poem, "Solitude," which Miss Ella Wheeler (now Mrs. Wilcox) contributed to the New York "Sun" in 1883. Colonel John A. Joyce claimed to have written it and to have scratched the words with a diamond on the window pane of a hotel in Washington. In a book which he published in 1886 he included it as

his own. Miss Wheeler gave abundant proof that she wrote this poem, which contains the well-known lines:

"Laugh, and the world laughs with you;
Weep, and you weep alone;
For the sad old earth must borrow its mirth,
But has trouble enough of its own"

Doubtless the name that by virtue of its bearer's literary accomplishments properly heads the list of Wisconsin writers is that of James Gates Percival. He was State geologist of Wisconsin from 1854 to 1856. He died in the little village of Hazel Green, Wis., and there his grave remained unmarked for many years, until a Yale classmate secured by subscription the sum of $500 for a monument, suitably inscribed as follows:

Eminent as a poet.
Rarely accomplished as a linguist.
Learned and acute in science.
A man without guile.

Percival was one of the most eccentric, as he was one of the most talented men who ever came to Wisconsin. Numberless stories are told of his personal peculiarities. In his day he was regarded as one of the greatest of the American poets. In 1828 George P. Morris planned to publish in his New York "Mirror" "the likenesses of nine living American poets." Percival's occupied the center of the group. His name was linked with Bryant's; but time has changed the judgment of the former generation. Childhood experiences were responsible, in a measure, for the views of life which made Percival

JAMES GATES PERCIVAL.

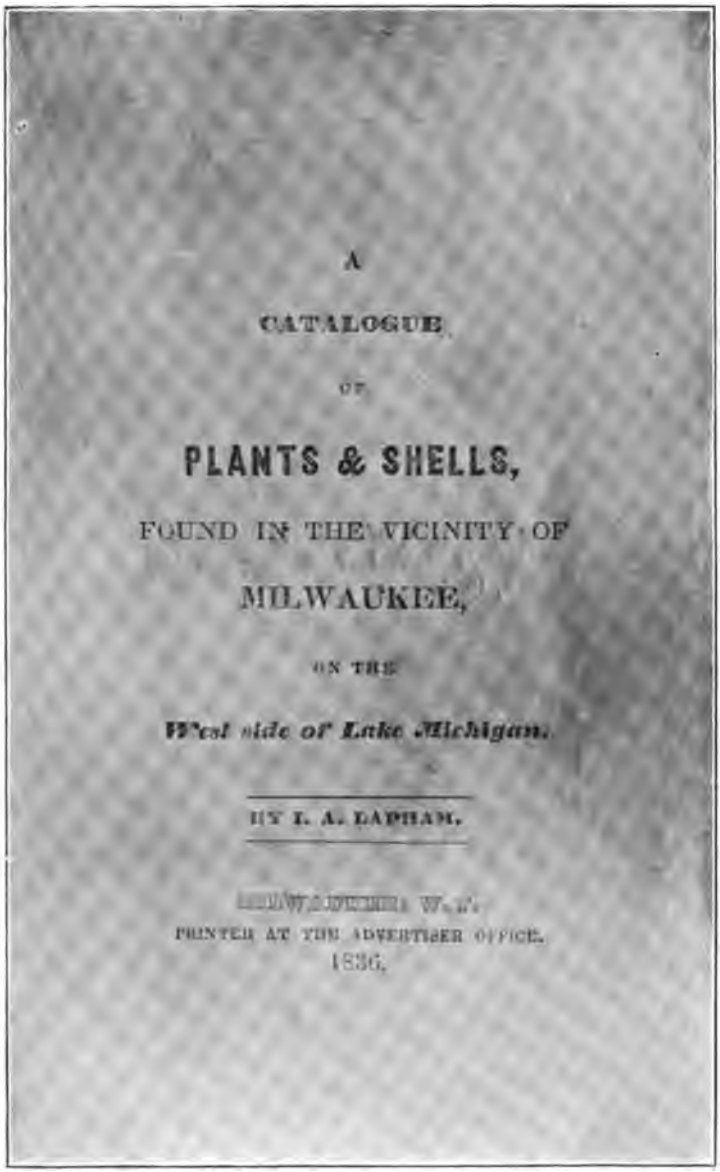
an eccentric and a misanthrope. He sought to end his life at the age of twenty-five, and his poem, "The Suicide," embodies the train of thought that actuated him at the time. He lived to be sixty years of age, and the publication of his first book was the one brief period of these years that seemed to him worth the living. Female companionship he avoided almost frantically; comradeship he repelled; companionship, except that of books, he avoided. When he built his house it had no door, and no windows in front; the only entrance was in the rear, and visitors never succeeded, by any pretense, in crossing the threshold. Sensitively shy, his erratic manners and strange apparel served to attract attention to him. Miserably poor all his days, he must often have suffered for the necessaries of life. He might have been a prosperous country physician, as his father was before him, but he abandoned the medical profession after his first case; he preferred the slender income and drudgery of a writer's life. Often he would, as he has himself described it in a letter that is unusually communicative, "go home with weary knees to a supperless cottage and feast on moonshine." During one trying year of penury his income from literary employment, which was his sole resource, amounted to sixty-five dollars. His experiences seemed to inculcate no prudent habits of thrift; when fortune momentarily smiled upon him, once or twice, his entire cash capital and the limit of his credit were exchanged in a lump for packages of books. He was thus continually struggling with financial difficulties. He left a remarkable library of ten

thousand volumes, which was disposed of at auction. Even now, after the lapse of fifty years, the book hunter may occasionally find in some bookstall a volume bearing his characteristic autograph on the flyleaf.

In Wisconsin Percival, who was an ardent geologist, was known as "Old Stonebreaker."

"The most of us that knew Dr. Percival did not know him till he came to the West," said Colonel E. A. Calkins at a memorial meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "He walked with his head bent, his eyes cast downward, and with slow and uncertain step. Those of our citizens who often saw him will not soon forget his aspect of poverty, almost of squalor—his tattered gray coat, his patched pants—the repairs of his own hands—and his weather-beaten, glazed cap, with earpieces of sheepskin, the woolly side in."

The late Horace Rublee, editor of the Milwaukee "Sentinel," frequently saw Percival at the State capital. He thus described the poet: "In person Percival was somewhat below the medium height, and rather slight and frail. His countenance was indicative of his extreme sensitiveness and timidity; pale and almost bloodless; the eyes blue, with an iris unusually large, and when kindled with animation, worthy of a poet; the nose rather prominent, slightly Roman in outline and finely chiseled, while the forehead—high, broad and swelling out grandly at the temples—marked him as of the nobility of the intellect. In his dress he was eccentric. He seemed to withdraw himself as much as possible from all intercourse with his fellow men, and to surrender



A

CATALOGUE

OF

PLANTS & SHELLS,

FOUND IN THE VICINITY OF

MILWAUKEE,

ON THE

West side of Lake Michigan.

BY I. A. LAPHAM.

PRINTED AT THE ADVERTISER OFFICE.

1836.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST BOOKLET PRINTED IN WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

himself wholly to intellectual pursuits. During the time he spent in our city he scarcely formed an acquaintance."

As a philologist Percival was the most remarkable man of his generation. Self-taught, he was conversant with the literature, in the original, of every country of Europe. Many of the dialects he mastered sufficiently to employ in writing poetry. When Ole Bull landed in this country Percival greeted him with a poem written in Danish. Percival's last printed poem was written in German. Professor Shepard vouches that he wrote verse in thirteen different languages; he imitated all the Greek and German meters, amusing himself with rendering select passages from Homer in English hexameters, with the encouraging approbation of Professor Kingsley. In the forties he printed a series of excerpts from the three leading groups of European languages—Slavonic, Germanic and Romanic. Each of these groups embraces four languages: the Slavonic—Polish, Russian, Servian, Bohemian; the Germanic—German, Low Dutch, Danish, Swedish; the Romanic—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French.

Material assistance was given by Percival to Dr. Noah Webster in the editorial work connected with the publication of the great dictionary that bears the name of the latter. Percival engaged to correct the proofsheets, but speedily his great scholarship in etymologies and the scientific bearing of words caused his work to be greatly amplified. It amounted, in fact, to correcting and editing the manuscript. In the original edition of Webster's Dictionary, published in two volumes, due credit is given Percival for his editorial work.

The poems of Percival first appeared in 1821, and various editions under various titles appeared until 1859, when Ticknor & Fields issued the final edition in two volumes in their blue and gold series.

In art Wisconsin citizens have made notable contributions. Carl Marr, a native of Milwaukee, has achieved European fame as a painter. Koehler and Lorenz are local artists whose fame has extended beyond the confines of the State. Vinnie Ream Hoxie, well-known as a sculptor, was born in Madison; the house in which she came into the world was a log structure, and the first erected on the shore of Lake Monona. Among the promising sculptors of to-day are Misses Helen Mears and Jean P. Miner, of Oshkosh, some of whose work has been acquired for the State, and is now in the capitol.

American invention is also indebted to residents of the State. The first patent ever granted to a citizen of Wisconsin was in 1842, when David Irvin filed his drawings of an improvement in saddles. The principal Wisconsin inventions since that date are the following:

Typewriter, by C. Lathan Sholes, of Kenosha, in 1867. In 1870 he and his associates established the first typewriter factory in the country, on the banks of the old Milwaukee canal. Twelve machines were made here, the selling price being $125 each. "In 1873 the machine was deemed practically perfected and taken to Ilion, N. Y., where it was first manufactured on an extensive scale and marketed as the original Remington machine."

Self-spacing type, by Linn B. Benton of Milwaukee, in 1883.

Milk-testing device, by Dr. Stephen M. Babcock of Madison, who presented the invention to the world. It has revolutionized the dairy industry in the United States.

Reynolds-Corliss type of engine, by Edwin Reynolds of Milwaukee.

Thermostat and humidostat, by Warren S. Johnson of Whitewater, later of Milwaukee, using at first compressed air and now electricity for the regulating devices.

Lee rifle, adopted for the British army, by a watchmaker of Stevens Point, whose name it bears.

Harvester, by George Esterly of Heart Prairie, in 1844. It enormously simplified one phase of farm work.

As belonging, in a measure, in this class, may be mentioned the contribution made many years ago by Increase A. Lapham in giving to the Federal authorities the data and suggestion which have developed into the present signal service.

At the present time Wisconsin inventors secure about five hundred patents annually, there being but twelve States which surpass this Commonwealth in the total number granted.

CHAPTER VIII

Northern Wisconsin's Great Fires

MEMORABLE dates on which great havoc was wrought by fires in Wisconsin include the following:

At Peshtigo and surrounding country, embracing several counties, October 8, 1871.

At Oshkosh, April 28, 1875.

At Marshfield, June 27, 1887.

At Iron River, July 27, 1892.

At Fifield, July 27, 1893.

At Phillips, July 27, 1894.

The great drought of the summer and fall of 1871 will long be remembered by the people of Northern Wisconsin. With the exception of slight showers of only an hour or two in duration in the month of September, no rain fell between the 8th of July and the 9th of October—some three months. The streams and swamps and wells dried up. The fallen leaves and underbrush which covered the ground in the forests became so dry as to become ignitible almost as powder, and the ground itself, especially in the cases of alluvial or bottom lands, was so utterly parched as to permit of being burned to the depth of a foot or more. The expression, "The sky was as brass and the earth ashes," became a reality.

For weeks preceding the culmination of this state of things in the terrible conflagration of the 8th and 9th of October, fires were sweeping through the timbered country, and in some instances the prairies and "openings" of all that part of Wisconsin lying northward of

Lake Horicon, or "Winnebago Marsh," which was itself on fire. Farmers, sawmill owners, railroad men, indeed all interested in exposed property, were called upon for constant and exhausting labor, day and night, in contending against the advancing fires.

The sawmills in the pine regions of Brown, Shawano, Oconto, Manitowoc, Kewaunee and Door counties were, many of them, located in the very midst of the pine forests and surrounded with a débris of slabs, edgings, shingle refuse, etc., forming a ready conductor for the undermining fires in the adjacent forests to the mills and houses around them. The work of protecting these mills was long, harassing and exhausting, the ground being so dry that water could not be obtained from the wells, and the means of defense were mainly by circumvallating the property with ditches. These were, in the main, effectual, so long as the fire preserved the ordinary character of previous forest fires, not fanned with gales nor supplemented by a long-heated and ignitible condition of the atmosphere, which followed later on. In this labor of fighting fire the mill men, farmers and others were engaged through October, the exhausting work going on with good cheer, in the constant hope that either the welcome rain would come, or that, finally, the ground would be wholly burned over and leave nothing further for the flames to feed upon. Here and there mills and houses were burned; fences, haystacks and outlying property were swept off; but no great disaster had yet occurred. Still no rain came, and for many days previous to the great disaster a general gloom and fear seemed to have come upon the threatened region.

The long-continued labor of fighting the fire exhausted all energies, and an overhanging smoke permeated the atmosphere, sometimes so dense as to prevent seeing objects a few rods distant, seriously affecting the eyes and lungs. This was not alone the case in the forests, but in towns and in largely cleared settlements. In Green Bay, Depere, Appleton, Oconto, Menominee, Kewaunee, and other places, the smoke was frequently so dense that buildings at the distance of a square were invisible, and on the lake and bay the smoke assumed the dimensions of an immense fog, obscuring the shores and rendering navigation difficult. The fires also made travel on the roads difficult and often dangerous. Trees, fallen and burning, obstructed the highways, and bridges in every direction were burned; where bridges were gone the streams had dried up, thus allowing them to be passed without much difficulty. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway ran for fifty miles through this burning region—between Oshkosh and Green Bay—and it was only by the services of a large force of men, stationed along the line, that it was kept in passable condition. The fires approached the track so closely in many places that trains had to be run at increased speed to prevent their taking fire. As an illustration of the narrow escapes on that fatal Sunday of the eighth of October, may be mentioned that of Older's circus—a long and heavy caravan, composed of upward of eighty horses and some twenty wagons—passed safely, during that day, over the bridges between Green Bay and Manitowoc, some of which were burning at the time, and

nearly all of which were destroyed before night. If any one of the bridges which spanned the deep and impassable ravines on that road had been burned in advance of the progress of the caravan it would have been hemmed in and destroyed. Many devices were resorted to for the protection of life. Excavations were made in the earth, with earth-covered roofs, in which persons sought refuge. Many resorted to wells, which from the long drought had become dry. Much property, which had been taken from houses and placed in the open fields for safety, was destroyed, while the houses themselves frequently escaped. But time drew on, the ground was burned over, and the long-harassed people began to take breath, believing that the worst was passed.

This was the condition of things up to Sunday, the eighth of October. The air was dense with smoke and fitful blasts of hot air—so stifling that at times it was difficult to breathe. All these northern towns had kept ready, as well as they could, for the emergency. In Green Bay the fire engines had been kept at work wetting the buildings, and an extra police force was detailed to keep watch. The buildings were so dry that a spark would have set them on fire; flakes of ashes from the smouldering timbers fell in the streets like a snowstorm, and the citizens were anxious as if in the face of some impending calamity. A hot, southerly gale was blowing, and in the midst of it, on Sunday afternoon, a house took fire in the central part of the city. The interior was only slightly burned, however, and the fire was extinguished before it reached the outer air. Had it ob-

tained headway the imagination fails to comprehend the result. The country, on three sides of the city, was on fire, and on the fourth, where lay the only apparent outlet, were the waters of the bay, into which must have swarmed the population to a death only preferable to that which followed at their backs. It was the same gale which swept over Chicago. That city was then burning, and that day and night the deadly blast was sweeping through the country northward, filling the land with death and destruction.

But northward from Green Bay, in Oconto County, and for some distance into Menominee County, on the west shore of the bay, and throughout the whole length and breadth of the peninsula, which includes the whole of Door County, and parts of Brown, Kewaunee and Manitowoc counties, the fires reached their greatest devastation.

What is known as the Sugar Bush settlement lies between Oconto and Peshtigo, extending six or eight miles form north to south, and two or three miles in width. It is one of those oases of hard-wood timber land, which are frequent among the pine forests and are superior farming lands. It was settled by a thrifty, industrious and prosperous community of farmers, who owned their land and prided themselves on the beauty of their farms. A few miles to the northeast was the village of Peshtigo. It was a village of about 1,200 inhabitants, mainly engaged in the lumber operations of the Peshtigo Company, which had its headquarters there. The village stood on the banks of the Peshtigo River, about eight

miles from its mouth, and was, for that region, a place of some age, sawmills having been operated there for upward of twenty-five years. Among the features was a woodenware factory, which had been only recently completed at a cost of $125,000, which was in full operation, manufacturing pails, tubs, churns, and other wooden hollow ware. It was the most extensive one of the kind in the United States. There were also a sawmill, a sash and door factory, a grist mill, a machine shop, boarding houses, an extensive store, upward of one hundred dwelling houses, several hotels, two churches, two schoolhouses, etc. A railway connected it with the "Lower Village," at the mouth of the river, some eight miles distant. It was a hive of industry, and had not, probably, an unemployed person within the precincts. It is estimated that on the night of the fire it had a population of 1,500 or 1,600 inhabitants within its borders, as some 300 laborers were at work, in the immediate vicinity, on the new extension of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and a company of fifty Scandinavian emigrants had arrived there the day previous to the fire. Of these 1,500 or more people less than a thousand were accounted for after the fire, while all over the desolate plain and in the forests, and in the river bed, human bones attested the fearful loss of life.

With the southerly gale, the fire first struck the Sugar Bush. The testimony is singularly unanimous here, as well as in the cases of other places burned, as to the dreadful premonition and the final burst of flame. An

unusual and strangely ominous sound; a gradual roaring and rumbling approach. It has been likened to the approach of a railroad train—to the roar of a waterfall, to the sound of a battle, with artillery, going on at a distance. The people, worn out with the long harassing by fire for weeks before, quailed at this new feature, and when the flames did make their appearance—not along the ground, as they had been accustomed to meet them, but consuming the tree-tops, and filling the air with a whirlwind of flame—the stoutest hearts quailed before it.

There have been many opinions in explanation of this apparent fire-storm in the sky. It has been attributed to electrical causes and to the formation of gas from the long-heated pine forests of that region. The following explanation seems most plausible: The same wind storm and condition of the atmosphere, had they occurred on the ocean, would have produced waterspouts. There the water is drawn up by a powerful attraction above, and the clouds descend to meet it, accompanied by a violent whirlwind. Here there were, doubtless, whirlwinds, having a tremendous circular velocity, and moving from north to south at a more moderate speed of from six to ten miles an hour. The pine tree tops were twisted off and set on fire, and the burning débris of the ground was caught up and whirled through the air in a literal cloud of fire. To use an anomalous expression: it was a waterspout of fire. No wonder that the stoutest hearts were appalled before such an unheard-of presence, which could not be attacked nor resisted with any appliance in human grasp, and no wonder that the af-

flicted people abandoned every thought but that of seeking safety. A writer in the London "Spectator," referring to the peculiar character of these fires, suggests that they may have been caused by a condition of the atmosphere, "similar to the well-known Foen wind of Switzerland," and quotes the following passage from an eminent naturalist respecting this wind: "It is the terror of the country. Fires are immediately extinguished on every hearth and in every oven, and in many valleys watchmen go about to make sure that this precaution is observed, as a single careless spark might cause a disastrous conflagration in the dried-up state of the atmosphere."

At Peshtigo hundreds were saved by throwing themselves into the river. In the Sugar Bush there was no stream deep enough for such a refuge; men, women and children, horses, oxen, cows, dogs, swine—everything that had life, was seized with pain and ran, without method, to escape the impending destruction. The smoke was suffocating and blinding, the roar of the tempest deafening, the atmosphere scorching; children were separated from their parents and were trampled upon by the crazed beasts; husbands and wives were calling wildly for each other, and rushing in wild dismay, they knew not where, while others, believing that the Day of Judgment was surely come, fell upon the ground and abandoned themselves to its terrors. Indeed, this apprehension that the last day was at hand pervaded even the strongest and most mature minds. All the conditions of the prophecies seemed to be fulfilled. The hot

atmosphere, filled with smoke, supplied the "signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars"; the sound of the whirlwind was as "the sea and the waves roaring," and everywhere there were "men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken." Near the town of Robinsonville, on the opposite side of the bay, is a conventual school, around which hangs a superstitious air from some circumstances connected with its establishment. It is said that the affrighted people of that vicinity thronged to it in the belief that the world was being consumed, and falling upon their faces, crawled round and round it with long-continued prayers. Multitudes of other instances are related of similar superstitions.

The Sugar Bush was almost wholly burned away. Four dwelling houses and one or two barns were saved. The people were all either killed or driven out. Some were burned near the buildings; some were caught in the fields and woods by the descending fires; others fled to the woods and were caught there, and some found their way to Peshtigo, either to death or ultimate escape.

Of the village of Peshtigo there was not a vestige left standing, except one unfurnished house, which stood apart from others, and escaped. The fire burned with such fury that but little effort was made to save any property. It had been before assailed by fire during the drought, and had been saved by great efforts, and this time its courageous people called forth again to renew the fight; but a few minutes sufficed to show that

the enemy this time was irresistible. The men essayed a fight against it, but sent the women and children to the rear and shortly followed themselves. Most of them ran into the river, where they contested for room with the horses, cows and swine. Some of them drowned outright; some sank after long exhaustion, and others lived the night through. Many ran, terror-stricken and without thought, into places where was the least chance of safety, and there perished. In the great boarding-house occupied by mill workers, inflammable in its every part, it is supposed that large numbers were burned. In the mills and factories, in outhouses, in cellars, covered by inflammable buildings, on the bridge, and in the open streets they were caught by the inexorable fate and consumed. The next morning the sad remnants of the Peshtigo people, tired and maimed, found their way, on foot and in wagons, to Marinette and to the mills at the mouth of the river. A warm welcome, with a great and generous opening of doors and hearts, met them, and their needs were ministered to. If there never before was such a fire, there was also never before such a healing of its scars.

Northward, from Peshtigo, the hurricane seems to have divided into two columns or wings. The easterly one scorched the edge of the village of Marinette and swept over the village of Minekaunee, lying on the south bank of the Menominee River, at its mouth. Here there were about fifty buildings burned, three stores, an extensive new sawmill, a flouring mill, two hotels, and thirty-five dwelling houses. Several scows, nearly a

million feet of lumber, and a number of horses, cows and other animals, were burned. Clouds of burning cinders were driven across the river, and it was a marvelous escape for the village of Menominee, immediately opposite. A mill was burned there, however. The violence of the gale may be judged from the fact that burning cinders were showered upon the decks of vessels seven miles distant on the bay.

The western column of fire also gave Marinette a narrow escape, burning some buildings on its western border. Crossing the Menominee, it swept through the forests to the northward and struck the settlement of Birch Creek, north of Menominee. It had a population of about 100, who were mainly a farming people, having about fifteen farms. Here nineteen people were burned to death, and many were badly injured. The loss of life in the township was twenty-seven. The Birch Creek settlement extended from five to nine miles north of Menominee. The current of fire seemed to take a northwesterly course from here, and did not extend to the bay shore. A surveying party of men—eight or ten persons—who were running out a line for the northern extension of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, were in the woods near the shore, northwardly from Birch Creek, on that night, and slept soundly through it, not knowing of the awful havoc which was going on not far from them.

This describes only what took place in towns and settlements. What occurred in the dense and lonely forests, which extend north and west for long distances,

no one can tell. As these are penetrated by loggers and hunters, charred corpses are found from time to time, and the scathed trees only tell the story of the dreadful fires through which they passed.

Maps will show the portion of the long peninsula which divides the waters of Green Bay from those of Lake Michigan. The county of Door is wholly, and those of Kewaunee and Brown partly, situated within its borders. The population, in the interior townships, is still a farming one, composed mainly of Belgians and Bohemians. The country was heavily timbered with hard wood and pine, and sawmills were scattered along the two shores. The Belgian population began to arrive there many years ago, and from almost utter destitution had surrounded themselves with comfortable circumstances, with substantial dwellings and barns, and a moderate outfit of horses and cattle. This was the largest region swept by the fire, and here was the greatest loss in Northern Wisconsin. The fiery tempest may be said to have swept over its whole length and breadth, though some portions of it escaped actual devastation. The villages of Kewaunee, Ahnepee and Sturgeon Bay were sorely pressed, but were saved. So were also the lower villages of Dykesville, Little Sturgeon, and Jacksonport. These are all on the shores, and were more or less protected by open spaces around them. But the farms and clearings, hewn out of the forests and strewn with fallen timber, were illy fitted to resist the approach of the fire. The outstanding haystacks, the heavy log fences, the piles of cord-wood, hemlock bark, fence-posts, and other

products of the forests, which the hard-working people get out ready to haul to the shore with the first snows, were prompt conductors to carry the fire across these cleared plains.

The most intense havoc occurred in the towns of Humboldt and Green Bay, in the county of Brown; Casco, Red River, Lincoln and Ahnepee, in the county of Kewaunee, and Brussels, Forestville, Nasewaupee, Clay Banks, Union and Sturgeon Bay, in the county of Door —an area of five hundred square miles. The population of these towns, in 1870, was 7,857. A large part of this population suffered by fire. Many lost everything —houses, barns, fences, wagons, hay and grain, and, in numerous instances, cattle. Others lost a part of their property, and there was scarcely a family, which wholly escaped, that did not divide, from its own scanty items, with its destitute neighbors. Here and there were country stores and grist mills. Their doors were opened, and the hungry and destitute sufferers were invited to come and take freely of whatever there was to eat and to wear. It was fortunate that the weather was warm, so that there was no immediate distress from exposure, and the houseless people either huddled into the dwellings and barns which were saved, or slept out upon their burned fields.

Little enough was saved. There was no place of safety. Some attempt was made to carry out bedding and such valuables as were most prized, but the terrible gale and rain of fire sought out every hiding place. Stoves, furniture and bedding were frequently taken to

the open fields, and these were, almost without exception, consumed—in some cases the houses from which they had been taken escaping. Houses were burned, while adjoining barns were saved. Fences, pumps and outhouses were burned, while dwelling houses, within a few yards, escaped. By mere instinct the horses and cattle mainly made their own way to places of safety. Many were burned, but it is remarkable that by far the largest number saved themselves. As to the loss of human life on the peninsula, there are, of course, no accurate statistics; the estimates were that several hundred persons perished—some as high as five or six hundred. Most of the bodies found were lying on their faces, without mark of fire, which shows that death was caused by suffocation.

The news of the great disaster came swiftly enough to the towns and villages which had been saved, along the borders of the great conflagration. It was impossible to reach the inland burned region with wagons, for the bridges were gone and the roads blockaded with fallen timber; but relief organizations were promptly formed at Green Bay, Milwaukee, Sturgeon Bay, Kewaunee, Ahnepee, etc.; boat loads of supplies were sent along the shores, discharging parts of their cargoes at every place where a landing could be made, and messengers were despatched overland to announce to the sufferers where they could go for food. These messengers went on foot, and on what are called in that country "buckboards," a light wagon, which could be lifted over obstructions. Some of the messengers were physicians,

who carried stocks of medicines and liniments, and who did the double duty of ministering to the sick and burned and announcing to all where they could find supplies. Flour, in bags of a convenient size to be carried on men's backs, bacon and salt meats, and cooked provisions of all kinds, constituted the relief in the first days after the fire, and, in proof of the energy with which the service was performed, it should be stated that before the week was past there was probably not a hungry person in all that stricken and almost impenetrable region.

Perhaps a calamity so terrible may be partly or even more than compensated for by the outburst of generosity and the unsealing of the fountains of humanity. Men who had spent their lives in pursuit of money turned short in their career and opened their hearts and their purses to their suffering brethren; women who fancied they could do little else than the finer labors of needlework entered boldly into the field and found themselves expert in the manufacture of clothing; and corporations, which had the proverbial reputation of having no souls, achieved the possession of large and warm ones. Towns and cities gathered into the great charity and sent forward cartloads, and sometimes trainloads of provisons, clothing and bedding. Before the smoke had blown away relief associations were formed in all the towns adjoining the burned regions—at Green Bay, Menominee and Marinette, Sturgeon Bay, Kewaunee, etc. Collections of money and provisions were made and sent forward. Then followed, as the news of the disaster spread, similar organizations in other parts of the State.

And then began to flow in an avalanche of supplies. From every county, and nearly every city, village and neighborhood of Wisconsin came carloads of food and clothing. The manufacturers of almost all kinds of staple goods came forward with liberal contributions of their specialties. The cotton and woolen mills of New England, the clothing and boot and shoe houses, the factories of flannels, hosiery, underwear, bedding, house furnishings, farming implements and tools, indeed almost every industrial branch in the whole country, sent liberally, each of its kind. The Government at Washington, infected in its turn by the bounteous charity all around, gave liberally of its army stores, and all supplies were brought free over the railways, which, with the telegraph and express lines, from ocean to ocean, did this vast work without charge.

CHAPTER IX

The Booming of the Gogebic

THE STORY of the rise and collapse of the Gogebic boom is a dramatic episode in the financial history of the State. A people noted for business conservatism yielded to insane excitement when an opportunity seemed to offer untold wealth without paying its equivalent. The "boom" had its center in Milwaukee, and while the speculative craze over the properties reached beyond the State in many directions, the majority of the victims were in Wisconsin. Millionaires were made in a day, and bankruptcy followed in the night. It was stated at the time that three-fourths of the professional men of Milwaukee and fully seven-eighths of the business men were involved. Homes were mortgaged or sold, savings from hard-earned salaries were withdrawn from banks, money was borrowed—all to be invested in Gogebic stock.

What is known as the Gogebic iron range extends from Lake Numakagon, in Wisconsin, in a northeasterly direction into the northern peninsula of Michigan to Lake Agogebic, a distance of 80 miles. The iron-bearing vein, however, is but 25 miles in length, and varies in width from 100 to 400 feet. Hon. Increase A. Lapham, when State Geologist many years ago, suggested that iron deposits might be found in the range that crossed the dividing line of Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. The credit of the first actual discovery of ore, nevertheless, belongs to Captain Nat. D. Moore, then an obscure mining captain in the employ of the La Pointe Iron Company, on the Negaunee range in

Michigan. In 1872, with a group of men, Moore had been sent out by his company to superintend the explorations around Penokee Gap. In their journey the party traversed the Gogebic range. Moore felt satisfied that there was ore in the region, and later, in company with Captain James T. Wood, he returned to investigate the resources further. A tornado had passed over this section shortly before, and under the roots of a fallen tree Moore discovered hematite. His find was on the site of what is now the Colby mine, near Bessemer, Mich., the first mine in the district to ship ore. A year later he interested sufficient capital to enter the lands, for which $4 an acre was required, as a portion of it was a school section. Between 1874 and 1876 Moore went to Wausau and entered the lands in Wisconsin. Business men became interested, and the captain organized the Iron Chief Mining Company. This company owned all the range property on the Wisconsin side of the Montreal River, the dividing line between Wisconsin and Michigan.

The first work done was in 1878, when another company, with Captain Moore at the head, started work on the Colby mine. This work was more as an experiment than for the purpose of actual mining. The presence of high-grade ore was fully attested, but operations were stopped by the lack of funds. In 1882 Moore pointed out to the chief of the exploring party of the Cambria Steel Company the iron region he had discovered, calling his attention particularly to the Colby property. This company at once put men at work, and

$30,000 was used in exploration. A dispute over a difference of $10,000 in the lease caused the company to abandon operations. Charles L. Colby, of Milwaukee, then president of the Wisconsin Central Railway, soon after paid $30,000 for the lease and $70,000 for the lease on section 15 adjoining. The Penokee and Gogebic Development Company, of which Moore was general manager, had been organized meantime, and the lease was transferred to it. Work was begun at once, and in the fall of 1884 1,000 tons of ore were shipped to Cleveland.

This was the first impetus given to mining in the Gogebic range. The quality of the ore at once attracted the attention of experts in Cleveland, and miners and moneyed men began to arrive. In the spring of 1885 John E. Burton, of Lake Geneva, purchased, with two others, the controlling interest in the Aurora mine. At the time Burton was the Wisconsin agent of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, drawing a salary of $8,000 a year. Two years before he had been the New York promoter of the Tilden silver mines of Colorado. Burton had the push and enthusiasm necessary to put the mines before the public. Stock in the Aurora mine advanced 500 per cent. in seven months. Before the season of 1886 opened Burton had secured the controlling interest in nine mines, including the Aurora.

The boom reached its height in 1886. Around the site of the Colby mine grew the city of Bessemer. What had been in 1884 the blazed right of way of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railway became the

main street of Ironwood, in 1886 a city of 4,000 population. Hurley sprang from a village of a few log houses to a city of brick buildings and stores. The Gogebic "Iron Tribune" was established at Hurley for the express purpose of exploiting the possibilities of the region. Special excursions of prospective buyers and newspaper men were run to the mines from Milwaukee, Chicago and Cleveland. Fifteen thousand people had come to the range to settle. The first issue of the Gogebic "Iron Tribune" gave what was considered a conservative estimate of the value of the range. The figures were $23,465,000. From October, 1885, to May, 1886, stocks in the various mines had increased in value from 100 to 1,200 per cent. Burton at one time had forty buildings in the course of construction in Hurley. He was obliged to resign his connection with the Equitable Life Assurance Society in order to attend to his mining interests. An immense hotel, finer than anything in the State, outside of Milwaukee, was built by him in Hurley, and a great banquet, graced by the presence of Governor "Jerry" Rusk and Lieutenant-Governor Fifield, marked its opening. In less than a year after his purchase of the controlling interest in the Aurora Burton was said to be worth $1,310,000, from which he derived an annual income of $75,000. Captain Moore's wealth was even more. There were altogether twenty-two companies on the range, with a nominal capital of $40,000,000, while the most conservative of the experts stated that not more than $1,000,000 had been put into improvements. A broad margin was left for speculators to work on with the credulous.

And speculators did some heavy work. More than one forty beyond what was understood to be the line of the ore vein was marked by pits and shafts. Holes were dug and immediately upon striking ore the owner would capitalize at from $100,000 to $1,000,000. Elegantly engraved certificates of stock were at once placed upon the market. The par value of a share would be $25, and it would be sold for from $1 to $3 a share in order, as the promoters claimed, to secure money to proceed with the work. All of the devices used from time immemorial whereby something might be got for nothing were brought into play—and other devices which had their origin in this boom. Stock exchanges for trading in Gogebic stocks were established in Milwaukee and Chicago. Some of the more enterprising of the promoting firms had their stocks quoted at alleged stock exchanges in New York and Boston. To give the character of permanency to these exchanges, which were mostly rooms fitted up by the promoters themselves with a large blackboard and chairs for the multitude, old and established mining stocks were quoted, and sometimes stocks in the famous copper mines were also listed. One method adopted, when a promoter had a big block of stock to dispose of and was selling from day to day, was to boost the prices on the quotation board. And it was common practice for the promoters selling stock to buy back small offerings from purchasers at the advanced price, and the transaction would be duly heralded in such expressions as this: "A block of ——— stock was bought in to-day for ———." One expression

which became current in transactions of this kind was "nabbed it up." Some innocent clerk, who had put up $100 of his savings for stock and had sold again at an advanced figure, would relate to his friends how two days after buying he offered it at, say, fifty cents a share advance, and it was "nabbed up, quick."

Concerning the opening and development of the mines themselves, there grew up a distinct terminology, with words and phrases which became part of the every-day talk. Not merely in the so-called stock exchanges, but on the streets, in offices, and in the homes wherever the epidemic had spread, there was talk about "striking the footwall" at a certain depth; or "they uncovered at the Norrie, say, a fine body of hematite this morning," or "at the depth of 50 feet they uncovered ore that assayed sixty-three per cent." The old gold mining phrases were worked in, also, and one would hear that "the Colby was panning out big."

Maps were in circulation which it was current belief were prepared by the United States Geological Survey, showing the contour of the range for a distance of six or eight miles, with two deep lines, one blue, the other red, running their tortuous course through the rugged landscape. These were commonly believed to indicate the zone of magnetic attraction, and it was thought that the body of ore was continuous between these lines. It was an interesting feature of exploitation that every property which was stocked and put on the market would show up on this map as extending squarely across the space between these two colored lines. As the promoter

expatiated upon the certainty of finding a big body of ore while the work progressed, the failure to strike the ore was invariably explained as the failure rightly to locate these lines. As shown in the map, there was a space between them of perhaps a quarter of a mile, so there was always a latitude for sinking holes in the wrong place. These explanations progressed with the work, and the final one generally was that the dip or angle of the walls enclosing the ore probably sunk at this point and more capital would be required to go deeper until the walls were found. There was a mockery in these expressions after the boom had collapsed and people were grieving more or less secretly over their losses, that made their repetition seem as incongruous and ghastly as a joke at a funeral.

The boom had its humorous side, too, which the victims of it couldn't appreciate until years had elapsed. The fresh innocence of business men, who in their own affairs were analytical and careful, but who were inoculated with the craze and indulged in the most hair-brained speculations, is surprising. The story is told of one of these who stepped into an office to pay his church dues to the treasurer of his society. The treasurer asked him to sit down a minute while he finished two letters which he must get off in the next mail. "Why must you hurry them so?" inquired the business man. The treasurer wheeled around in his chair, and in a confidential tone said, "I'll tell you; we have just had news of a great lead of ore struck in the ——— (a new mine). I have just put $2,000 into it myself and am writing two cousins

to wire me to buy up some stock for them before the news gets around. Don't speak of it." The business man was at once alert. "Can't you take me in on that, Brother ———?" The sequel of this incident was told many times after by the business man, who did not that morning, nor for some time after, pay his church dues. He would repeat, "I said, 'Brother ———, can't you take me in on that?'—and he did."

Most of the mining properties were capitalized on the basis of $1,000,000—40,000 shares of $25 each, though a few were for less. When the sharp edge of the boom began to wear off, the capitalization of some of the properties was increased by consolidating two or more of them. One property, the Valley mine, was combined with two other holes in the ground and capitalized at $3,000,000, and the stock in this, before there was a pound of merchantable ore in sight, had a big sale at $1.25 a share, representing a cash value for the three holes, or "prospects," of $150,000.

Not all the mines, by any means, were shams. The ore was there and plenty of it. The properties that were shipping high-grade ore were paying an eight-per-cent. dividend. In 1885 the Aurora mine shipped 5,256 tons of ore; in 1886, 100,000 tons, which, however, did not represent the capacity of the property. Transportation facilities were poor; the railway company, which in 1884 had pushed its line across the range to Ashland, and had built immense ore docks there, was unable to supply cars, and the number of ore boats hauling the product to Cleveland was limited. The Colby, at the close of the

Daniel Wells Jr.

season, in 1886, had shipped 300,000 tons. The net income on 100,000 of Gogebic product was $190,000 as against $135,000 for a like amount from the Marquette range. The ore was of better quality than any of the imported material which at this time was the chief source of supply. The percentage of iron in the ore varied from 63 in the Colby to 65 in the Aurora, with a correspondingly low percentage of phosphorous. The opening of the Gogebic range came just at the time when steel structures were displacing wood and the railroads were extending their lines. It had been estimated that about 1884 the demand for high-grade bessemer ore exceeded the supply by 1,000,000 tons annually. Therefore there was no danger of flooding the market when the Gogebic deposit became known to the world.

It was in the fall of 1887 that the crash came. It is not to be understood that it was sudden. The precise moment when the Gogebic boom collapsed cannot be stated. It is simply known that there came to be a time when each holder of stock, failing to dispose of it in the so-called stock exchanges, offered his holdings indiscriminately at any price and found no buyers. Some of the more reputable promoters, like Burton and Moore, when this time arrived, found themselves heavy stockholders, directors and officers in companies whose stock could not be given away; and, worst of all, these companies had no money in their several treasuries with which to continue the work of development. Premonitions of disintegration came months before it could be said that the speculative craze had reached its high-

water mark. A number of causes, similar to those in the history of all booms of this kind, combined to bring about the break. During the early part of 1887 it was manifest that the number of new purchasers of stock had about reached its limit. As these fell off, the tendency of the speculators was to prey upon each other. Then it became apparent, also, that some of the less scrupulous of the promoters had failed to put anything like the proper proportion of the receipts from the sale of stock into the work of development. Many mines that were prospected at the time and failed to give returns have since panned out well. Moreover, the hope of the earlier purchasers of stock for dividends had been deferred so long that many small holders began quietly to dispose of their holdings. Occasionally these people were startled by hearing that the lease of the property in which their money was sunk had been cancelled by the failure of the promoters to carry on the work of development. Practically all of the companies on the Gogebic range at the time, in which stock had been sold indiscriminately, were based upon leases rather than upon the actual title to the land being prospected. In the excitement attendant upon the sale of stock very few people had taken the trouble to inquire what was the foundation of the company in which they had invested, and were greatly surprised to learn that the leases required continuous prospecting work and the payment of royalties at the expiration of a specified time. The news of the cancellation of the leases of mines came to be a very disturbing factor in the situation, and so, through

a combination of different elements, the confidence of the speculators and small investors came to be undermined, which caused the bottom to fall out of the Gogebic boom.

The majority of those who were exploiting the range were sincere enough. Several of them risked and lost every dollar of their own, a fact which vouched for their faith if not for their judgment. And it is not to be inferred that all trading in stock was inherently dishonest. There were promoters who tried to keep within the limits of legitimate transaction and did; there were others who tried to do so and did not seem to know when the tide of speculation carried them from their moorings.

How much was lost no one may ever know. Most of the big promoters themselves "went broke." The greatest noise came from the losers of small sums. Business men and capitalists who had been stung for the most part kept the fact secret until a failure revealed their speculating experience.

CHAPTER X

During the War with Spain

IN the Spanish-American War Wisconsin was outranked by eleven States only in the number of men furnished. Its quota comprised four infantry regiments and one battery, and the total strength of these troops on the muster-out was 5,242 men. The deaths and casualties among Wisconsin volunteers was as follows: Killed or died of wounds, 2; died of disease, 128; wounded in action, 4. A great many of the deaths from diseases occurred in this country while in encampment in Tennessee, Alabama and Florida. Among those who died in Cuba was John T. Kingston, a former member of the State Senate, who was regarded as one of the leaders of his party, destined to a brilliant career. He had declined a commission, preferring a place in the ranks.

Another death that created a profound impression was that of Dr. W. K. Danforth, of Milwaukee, who offered his services to the Cuban volunteers and became chief medical adviser in the insurgent army. He was shot down by guerillas from an ambuscade. Dr. Danforth was hurrying forward to attend the wounded in the fighting before Santiago. All the ambulances and pack trains passing beneath the trees in which his slayers were concealed were made targets, no matter what their mission. Seven of the guerillas were captured and sentenced to be shot.

It was at Coamo, in Porto Rico, that Wisconsin volunteers were under fire for the first time. They attacked Coamo from in front, drove the enemy out of the city, and gave the Sixteenth Pennsylvania a chance to do all

the fighting. As a result, the Keytsone troops won all the glory, killed six Spaniards, wounded a dozen more, took 150 prisoners, and received the credit for having won the battle of Coamo. The Wisconsin soldiers had to content themselves with being the first to enter the city and with raising the Stars and Stripes over the town. The colors of the Third Regiment were the first to be raised in Coamo.

To understand the battle of Coamo a description of the city and surrounding country is necessary. The land is very hilly along the entire south coast, and toward the interior it becomes mountainous. Coamo is eight miles from the seashore, and is situated in a pocket of high hills. These hills are a guard to the city, being covered with ravines and cliffs, which in many places are impassable. An advance on the city by any other way than the roads which lead to the town is next to impossible. Three roads lead toward the city. From the southwest is the San Juan road, leading from Ponce through Coamo to San Juan. This road takes a northeasterly direction from the city toward Aibonita. From the south is a road leading from St. Isabel, the road having been named after the town. On all these roads the Spanish Government had built many culverts and bridges to cover ravines and streams. The work was done with great care and the bridges were therefore very substantial. The roads are all macadamized and are like boulevards. On the outskirts southwest of the city was a blockhouse, situated between the San Juan and the St. Isabel roads. From the blockhouse the Spaniards had a clear range

of the valley leading toward the city. In this blockhouse the enemy was lodged, and from here the Spaniards had shut off former attempts to enter the city.

The plan of the campaign against Coamo was made at a meeting of General Ernst and the commanders of the Second and Third Wisconsin regiments, the Sixteenth Pennsylvania, and Troop C, First New York Cavalry. It was decided that for the night strict outposts were to be kept, and to shut off all communication from the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of the Third, was named as field officer and posted Company K, of Tomah, and Company G, of Wausau, on high hills commanding the San Juan road, and a full view of the blockhouse and the city. All night a vigilant watch was kept on the Spaniards, but they made no demonstration. The commanders were given their instructions for the night and all retired early, being tired from the march of the day previous.

At 4 o'clock in the morning the troops were awakened. The men were told to take their guns and belts, haversacks and three meals, and their ponchos. The orders were to leave all other equipment behind. It was yet dark, but throughout the camp the cooks worked over fires, and at 4:30 breakfast was served. They were in high spirits—only the sick were sad. Several when told that they must remain in camp wept; they begged to be allowed to report for duty. They even pretended to be well, though the surgeons well knew them to be unfit for service.

While the Second and Third Wisconsin were pre-

paring for the battle, the Sixteenth Pennsylvania was moving. It had been ordered to attack the enemy from the rear. All the American forces had camped before Coamo, on the San Juan road, two miles southwest of the city. At 3:30 in the morning the Sixteenth advanced over the mountains toward the north, and by transcribing a long circle around the town came up on the road east of it. It was just 6 o'clock when the Second and Third began to move. While the Pennsylvania troops were going around from the rear the battery advanced from the southwest. Taking a position in the valley, near the San Juan road, it had a clear sweep of the block-house and also commanded a range for firing into the town if desirable. The Second and Third Wisconsin supported the battery on the left, and as soon as the regiments had left their camps and were in the field the advance began. The Second was nearest the battery. Colonel Born ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Solliday to lead the advance party, consisting of the First Battalion, Company A, Captain Spencer, of Marshfield, acting as skirmishers, and Company B, Oshkosh, and Company D, Ripon, supporting them. Major Green, commanding the Third Battalion, consisting of Company M, Captain Lee, Oconto; Company K, Captain Zink, Beaver Dam; Company I, Captain Hodgins, Marinette, and Company L, Captain Padley, Ashland, supported the First Battalion and followed close behind. The Second Battalion, in command of Major Grutzmacher, having Companies E, F, G and H, of Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Appleton and Manitowoc, respectively, started down the San Juan road.

General Ernst and staff had taken a position on the hill where Captain Warren and the Tomah men, from the Third, had acted as pickets during the night, and from here he directed Colonel Moore where to move his regiment. He was to take the Third to the south of the town and advance by way of the St. Isabel road, thus cutting off all escape in that direction. Captains Warren and Abraham and their companies had been left behind on outpost duty, and Company A, Neillsville, guarded the camp at Juanta Diaz, so that the Third only had nine companies in the field. Major Richards and his adjutant, Lieutenant Massee, were given Company D; Captain Turner, Mauston, and Company F, Captain Lee, Portage, as an advance guard. Major Kircheis and Adjutant Schalle followed with the Second Battalion, consisting of Company B, Captain Schultz, La Crosse; Company M, Captain Peck, La Crosse; Company I, Captain McCoy, Sparta; Major George and the First Battalion, Company E, Captain Ballard, Eau Claire; Company C, Captain Kinney, Hudson; Company I, Lieutenant Smith, West Superior; Company H, Captain Ohnstead, Menominee, followed to the left.

The movement began at 6:30 o'clock. The battery by that time had taken its position, and Major Richards and Lieutenant-Colonel Solliday sent out their skirmishers. They stretched out in a line covering nearly a mile, and cautiously the advance on the hills south of the town began. On the heights the enemy was to be seen watching the movements. Inch by inch the boys crept through

the wet grass, which was high enough to almost hide them completely from view. The regiment followed as close behind as was deemed safe without exposing them to an ambush.

The skirmishers and their supports had gone about 600 yards when General Ernst moved from the hill on which he had stationed himself and went over to the battery. It was just 7 o'clock, the hour arranged for the battle to begin. It had been estimated that the Pennsylvania troops must by that time be in the rear of the town.

The first report from the battery came unexpectedly. The attack had opened. When smoke arose beyond the hills it was thought the town was being deserted and fired, but the information soon came that the blockhouse and not the town was being destroyed. Then came another shot. That one burst in the air, just before it reached the hill over which the firing was being directed. Then followed shot after shot until the air was fairly alive with the whistling of the shells. The birds in the fields and the groves had been singing. The air was now filled with shrieking and frightened songsters who flew about in confusion.

It was here that the Mauston troops of the Third Wisconsin were for the first time under fire. While the battery was shelling the blockhouse Major Richards had advanced the skirmishers toward the east, and was within range of the hill on which the Spanish outposts were stationed. Thoroughly aroused by the American boldness in shelling the blockhouse, the Spaniards opened fire

on the advancing skirmishers. For five minutes bullets whistled thick and fast over the heads of Captain Turner's men. But they were powerless to return the shot because under the cover of heavy brush the Spaniards could not be seen. The Mauser bullets hummed unpleasantly, but they moved right ahead, and soon after the hill was deserted and the Spaniards retreated toward the town.

Up to this time the Second and Third Wisconsin regiments had had comparatively smooth advancing. The hard marching had not yet begun, and the troops soon began to realize it. Rivers, ravines, groves with deep underbrush and other obstructions, were soon encountered. In order to get their positions the troops had to pass a deep ravine. On the steep sides of the gulch high grass grew, and one by one the soldiers let themselves slide down the cut. The climb on the other side was equally laborious, but all reached the top in safety after some little delay in the advance.

Scarcely had this one been passed than another was encountered. Then came the river, the bluffs on both sides of which were so steep that for a time it was thought impossible to reach the other side. The blockhouse had long before been riddled and the cannonade had ceased. Now the infantry fire of the Sixteenth Pennsylvania began, and that settled the question about descending the ravine. Supporting their guns in one hand, and with the other holding themselves in vines that hung over the cliff, the men began to lower themselves. They knew not what awaited them below.

Neither did they care. The firing in the distance was enough to urge them on so that they might take part in it. Once below the river was waded and the march through a corn field brought them to the St. Isabel road, leading to the town.

While the Third and Second Battalions of the Third Regiment were coming along the road, Adjutant Holway and Major George led the First Battalion on the other side of the river. Scouts were now sent out to see what effect the battery had had on the blockhouse. They returned and reported that the blockhouse had been riddled and was on fire. As the Third advanced down the road it soon reached the blockhouse, and the men now saw for themselves the terrible effect of their fire. Only a few timbers remained. On the roads, 200 yards from the ruins, lay large pieces of rock and dirt which had been plowed up by the cannon balls. Some of the shells had struck into a hill beyond the Spanish fortifications and had torn huge holes in it.

A short distance further down the road brought the Third to another river. At this point Colonel Born and the Second were just emerging from the grove through which they had cut. Both regiments crossed the stream together, the Third taking the lead. Along the road several bridges were crossed. These the Spaniards had tried to blow up, but had failed. They had evidently been scared away before they could place the powder in the holes, which they left there for the Americans to cover up. In several places intrenchments had also been prepared, one of which was at the junction of the San

Juan and the St. Isabel roads, which met a mile from the town. It was at this point that Major Grutzmacher, of the Second Battalion of the Second Regiment, had intended to join the other forces, but his advance on the road had been cut off, a large bridge having been blown up by the Spaniards. He had to return and cross over where the Second and Third did and enter the city on the St. Isabel road. All wagon trains and the battery also were delayed until the bridge could be rebuilt.

The Wisconsin troops were now within a mile of the town, and the natives came out to meet them. Word came that the Spaniards had deserted the place, and were being engaged by the Pennsylvania men on the outskirts toward the west. The Badger men hurried on, tired, but still spoiling for a brush with the Spaniards. As the Third entered the town many natives, waving white flags, came out to meet them. They cheered the Americans. At every house and in all streets in the town groups of natives stood and cheered the soldiers. It was a repetition of the entrance to Ponce. The Spanish entrenchments were now encountered. Those had been made by digging a ditch across the streets, while at other places bags of sand had been piled at the intersections. The garrison was passed. A mob of natives was already in possession, looting and pilfering the place. Everything Spanish was torn to pieces by the populace, which seemed to have the utmost hatred for Spain. The stores were all closed. Many merchants had fled. The town was on the verge of starvation. The Spanish soldiers had taken all they needed, and country folk had not brought eatables to town for over a week, fearing the soldiers.

The Third Regiment flag was raised over the town. Later came word that the Pennsylvanians had routed the 300 Spanish regulars. Frightened by the advances of the Wisconsin troops, the enemy had attempted to flee toward the north, and had run directly into the Keystone men. A sharp but decisive skirmish in the brush had taken place. In it the Pennsylvanians had a few wounded, while the Spanish loss was six killed, twelve wounded, and 150 prisoners. About 135 Spaniards escaped by taking to the hills. Later some surrendered. The Second and Third went into camp just outside the town.

On the afternoon of August 12 occurred the first fatalities. For nearly four hours the Spanish regulars, who were guarding the mountain pass leading to Aibonita, poured shot and shell into the Portage, Mauston, Sparta and La Crosse troops encamped there, and when it was over, the first Wisconsin man in the Porto Rican campaign had been killed.

The Spanish regulars had tried to destroy a bridge leading over a high ravine, and Companies D, F, L and M of the Third, under Major Kircheis, had been sent out to hold the structure. Failing in their design, the enemy had taken to the mountains, a mile beyond, climbed the summits of three very high hills, entrenched themselves, and with the aid of two three-inch pieces of artillery, defied the advance of the American army. To reach Aibonita, three miles away where the Spanish held a strong position, it was necessary to pass through the pass traversing the Sierras Del Sur Mountains. The

enemy, entrenched on three hills, commanded this pass. Scouts had looked for other roads leading through the hills, but with each advance toward the hills the fire of the enemy began.

To charge the hills with infantry was considered impossible. The mountains are covered with chaparral in many places, and the trails could be easily defended. General Wilson ordered Major Lancaster, of the Fourth Artillery, to dislodge the enemy. Two miles from camp the hills held by the Spanish came in view. The enemy now commanded as good a view of the artillery as the battery did of the entrenchments. The road which leads toward this outpost is along the crest of a mountain. Round and round the artillery wound itself about the hills, and then it came in full view of the battalion holding the outpost, and also the enemy.

As the firing by the enemy began the battery advanced up the road. The fire from the Spanish now changed. It seemed that for a few moments the battery was neglected. All efforts of the enemy now seemed turned on the infantry—all Wisconsin men. In all a dozen shells had been thrown by the Spaniards when the fatal one came. The artillery was still advancing, and had not yet opened fire, when a Spanish shell struck in the midst of Captain McCoy's company on the hill, sloping toward the outpost headquarters. Corporal Johnson and one private were fatally wounded, and four other soldiers were less seriously hurt.

While the wounded infantrymen were being cared for by their comrades, the artillery was not having an easy

task. The full efforts of the enemy now seemed to be centered on it. Under a heavy fire the artillery was planted. Three pieces were stationed in the field below the road in full exposure to the enemy's guns and infantry. Fifteen minutes after the first Spanish shell had been fired the American battery, all this time under the fiercest fire, began its execution.

General Wilson and staff now arrived and directed the infantry to cease firing on account of the long range. But the Spaniards continued to shoot at the Portage and La Crosse troops. Once the range had been fixed the guns of the Third Battery worked with deadly effect. The cannonade on the earthwork soon had its effect, and whole companies of Spanish infantry could be seen leaving. The fire on the position held by the artillery was more difficult, but by continuous firing the gunners on the hill had to leave with their field-pieces, but not until nearly an hour after the firing began. During this time they had continued to shell the artillery and the Badger infantry along the roads and on the hills.

Everything on the hills was now silenced. At least so thought the attacking forces. The position of some of the field-pieces was changed, the guns being ordered further up to the Spaniards. One gun was hauled further down the road. Company F, in command of Captain Lee, was ordered to escort the piece, and to do so had to leave its position behind rocks and march along the exposed roadway. But there was not presumed to be any danger in that. The enemy was supposed to have been whipped and to have been driven from the hills.

As the horses and the cannon dashed on toward the enemy's hills, followed by the Portage troops, who were to hold the position evacuated, or supposed to have been evacuated by the enemy, a surprise came. A hail of bullets from Spanish infantry and several shells from the hill showed that the Spaniards still were there and in full possession of the position. The fire of the enemy was now heavier than ever. The infantry poured volley after volley and soon forced the artillery to retreat back to the rear. The Portage troops also fell back, escaping barely with their lives, several of the soldiers being wounded however The artillery ammunition of the battery in the field was now all gone. More was ordered from Coamo, but before it could be gotten out the artillery had been driven from the field under a storm of shell and bullets.

As the artillery retired the Wisconsin's infantry held its position, expecting a charge of the enemy. In vain did the Badger volunteers wait. The Spaniards were not there. While the latter were pouring in volleys at the artillery and in the direction where the infantry lay, it had been impossible to locate them. It was known that the soldiers had left the intrenchments, but from where they fired after that was only speculation. The Mausers emitted no smoke. The whistling of their bullets was the only sign of the enemy. When the battery had retired and the assault was over, the Spanish became bolder, and knowing themselves safe from any further shell, came out of their hiding. Then it was discovered that they had gone further down the hill in a banana

grove, under the big leaves of which they lay hidden while they repulsed the artillery.

This was the final opportunity the Badger troops had of demonstrating their metal. The campaign in Porto Rico ended with the expulsion of the Spaniards and the complete triumph of the American soldiers.

CHAPTER XI

Politics Since the War

THE period immediately following the close of the war of secession was not one of special political activity within the State. There was no lack of interest in the larger movements of the general government—the impeachment proceedings, the effort to establish the political and industrial status of the freed slaves, and the work of reconstruction, but these were not questions upon which the loyal citizens of Wisconsin divided. The fact that the Union Republicans, as the dominant party was called at that time, had a certain majority, the natural relaxation from the intense strain preceding and during the war, the general desire of those who had been in the ranks to return at once to the avocations of peace, all combined to keep dormant for a time questions which later were to become important political issues. Occasionally a ripple would disturb the quiet surface, as when the legislature first resolved that it was Senator Doolittle's duty to resign his seat in the United States Senate because of his support of President Johnson, and later resolved that the Senator be *instructed* to resign. The record may here be anticipated to say that Senator Doolittle did not recognize it as his duty to resign, and did not even show the legislature the courtesy of acknowledging the receipt of their instructions.

The party conventions resolved themselves into more or less friendly rivalries for the honors to be distributed in the form of nominations. There was, naturally, a disposition to honor the men who had distinguished themselves by leadership or bravery during the war.

When the Union Republican Convention of 1865, therefore, nominated General Lucius Fairchild for Governor, General "Tom" Allen for Secretary of State, Colonel John G. McMynn for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and General "Jerry" Rusk for Bank Comptroller, there was general satisfaction throughout the party. The Democrats found it wise to imitate this by the nomination of General Harrison C. Hobart for Governor. More was heard about honoring the soldier a few years later than this, when the exigencies of sharp political contests brought the "old soldier" shibboleth more professionally, but less sincerely, into all campaigns.

Under and through all the quiet of these six or eight years there were intimations and suggestions which, it appears now, might have forecast for the observing eye the issues of a few years later. Two influences were at work, not having any necessary relation to each other, yet destined to jointly evolve important results. One of these was the anti-liquor sentiment; the other, the anti-railroad movement. The first of these was not a new thing. From the organization of the State, and indeed before that, in territorial days, the liquor question had assumed large proportions. In 1853 the friends of the temperance movement secured the submission to the people of the question of the enactment of a prohibitory law, and the people of the State voted in favor of such a law—27,519 for the law, 24,109 against. The first legislature after this vote was taken defeated the bill meant to carry out the instructions of the referendum. The legislature of 1855 passed a prohibitory law, and

Governor Barstow vetoed it. Prior to this, in 1849, the Bond Law was enacted, one of the most stringent of liquor laws. It was not likely, therefore, that the temperance question should long remain quiescent—and it did not. The Civil Damage Law, better known as the Graham Bill, came later and aided in an important political upheaval.

The anti-railroad movement was the logical—even if unhappy—result of the rapid construction of railroads through the State, and the consequent increasing importance of the transportation problem. Before the war complaints of various kinds had been heard, but at this time there was more insistence shown. Charges of gross discrimination, extortionate charges, disregard of the rights and conveniences of the public were being made. In his second message Governor Fairchild is constrained to recommend that the legislature take some action in the premises. No doubt, then as now many unjust as well as many trivial charges were made, but coming as they did from every section of the State, and with increasing clamor, it is surprising that so little attention was paid to them on the part of the dominant party.

These, then, were the two questions which in the domain of State politics rose highest above the level, and from the close of the war until the culmination of the granger movement as a political factor in 1873, and the enactment of the Potter law the next spring, they grew in importance. The railroad problem was easily the dominant one. In the growth of the anti-railway sentiment there might have been discovered the seeds of the

Greenback movement which came later, and of the closer organization of labor for political purposes, and of the support which socialism has been and is receiving. It is not that there is a necessary relation between railroad aggression and a proposed national fiscal policy, or between railroad aggression and the peculiar tenets of modern socialism, or of the advocacy of silver as the standard of exchange, but that these various movements under different names get their chief support from the same source. They constitute in their order a persistent protest against the encroachment of the business interests, represented chiefly by the great corporations, upon the liberties of the individual.

FAIRCHILD'S ADMINISTRATION

With General Fairchild on the Union Republican ticket, nominated and elected in 1865, were two men destined in later years to occupy the Executive chair. They were William E. Smith, the new State treasurer, and General J. M. Rusk, the new bank comptroller. The ticket had a majority of about 9,000. In his first message to the legislature Governor Fairchild refers to the danger of a financial panic which threatened the State in the spring of 1865 when the national bank system was instituted. He pays a tribute to the wisdom of his predecessor in office, to whom he thinks was due the credit of averting the threatened trouble. The only legislative act of 1866 of more than passing mention was the joint resolution addressed to United States Sena-

Lucius Fairchild

tor Doolittle to the effect that it was his duty to resign, he having placed himself in direct antagonism to the party which elected him. In the fall elections Philetus Sawyer and C. C. Washburn were among the Republicans elected to Congress.

The second year of Governor Fairchild's first term was marked by more activity. A suggestion of the undercurrent of ill feeling toward the railroads was noticeable in the Governor's second message to the legislature. The following extract from that message indicates how important the subject was becoming:

"The strife which for years past has existed between a portion of our people and various corporations of the State has, I regret to say, in nowise abated. Complaints of injustice and oppression on the part of the railroad companies are still heard. A portion of our people are still complaining that unjust discriminations are made by these corporations, and demand the aid of legislative enactment to reduce the tariffs of freight to a more equitable standard. The companies, on the other hand, earnestly assert that their charges are just and equitable.

"That there is wrong somewhere seems probable. That either party is absolutely right or wrong is by no means certain. To arrive at the exact merits of the controversy an extended and critical examination of facts and figures is required, which no legislature in this State has yet provided for. This strife is in every way hostile to the interests of all concerned. It increases the distrust with which the people always look upon cor-

porations, and thereby diminishes their success and impairs their usefulness. It consumes the time of each legislature in useless and never-ending disputes. It repels the investment of railroad capital within our borders. It is productive only of bad results and should be stopped immediately. If the railway companies are in the wrong, either in whole or in part, the fact should be ascertained and the wrong corrected by proper legislation. The people have in past years demanded an investigation, and the corporations invite the same, asserting that honest, impartial investigation is what they want, and that they will abide by its award.

"Past legislatures have, either from want of time or facilities for obtaining the requisite information, failed to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the subject. Each succeeding legislature, therefore, finds itself just where its predecessor commenced, and before any definite action can be had the day of adjournment arrives and the strife is continued for another year. I know of no better plan for procuring the data necessary to intelligent action than by the appointment of a commission from your body or by the appointment of a committee to investigate thoroughly and carefully the whole question, and submit the result of such investigations to this or the succeeding legislature. This investigation is due to the corporations, for while it is your duty to compel on their part a strict observance of the restrictions which the State has placed upon them, it is none the less your duty to protect them in the exercise of all their legitimate franchises. It is especially due to the people, and it is

your peculiar province as their chosen guardians, to stand between them and unjust oppression from whatever source it may come, and I am confident you will discharge this duty without fear or favor. The subject is important and replete with difficulties, and should command your earnest attention that exact justice may be done."

The term of Timothy O. Howe as United States Senator having expired, he was re-elected in January, 1867, having the unanimous party support. His opponents on the Democratic side were Charles A. Eldridge and General E. S. Bragg. Senator Doolittle having disregarded entirely the resolution of the preceding legislature that it was his duty to resign, another joint resolution was aimed at him, INSTRUCTING him, this time, to resign. To this resolution, as to the previous one, Senator Doolittle paid no regard. It was at the close of this session that we first hear complaint of the work of the lobbyists. A Milwaukee paper, in summing up the work of the session, says rings were formed in support of and in opposition to certain bills more boldly and conspicuously than before. Another paper charged the members generally with idleness and avarice. It says that each member drew during the session thirty dollars' worth of stationery, seventy-five dollars' worth of postage stamps, and a copy of Webster's unabridged dictionary. These perquisites cost the State in the aggregate over $14,000. This criticism of extravagance was not without its effect, for it is on record that the members of the succeeding legislature did not draw a dollar's worth of stamps or similar perquisites.

The Republican Convention of 1867 renominated the State officers, and the Democrats a few days later placed a ticket in the field headed by J. J. Tallmadge, a prominent merchant of Milwaukee. The Republican ticket was elected by about 4,500 majority. The enthusiasm in the State over the nomination of General Grant for the Presidency, and the campaign and election which followed, gave the year 1868 a political interest which events of purely State scope could not have developed. There was an election in the spring to fill two vacancies on the Supreme Bench, and partisan nominations were made, the Republicans naming L. S. Dixon and Byron E. Payne, and the Democrats Charles Dunn and E. Holmes Ellis. The Republicans were elected. We hear nothing this year of complaints against the railroads, nor of any proposed railway legislation, nor any clamor for new laws of any kind. The session of the legislature was a very quiet one. Sawyer and Washburn were again returned to Congress, with other Republican members and one Democrat.

During the second year of Governor Fairchild's second term (1869) we hear more of the railroad question. A determined effort was made to pass a bill establishing a uniform railway rate. The effort failed, but it indicated the restive feeling concerning the railroads. It was at this session that Matthew Hale Carpenter was first elected United States Senator. The story of that senatorial contest is told elsewhere.

The Republican State Convention was held on September 1, and General Fairchild was for the third time

placed at the head of the ticket. There seems to have been no serious rivalry, although on the informal ballot first taken in the convention for Governor, David Atwood received 59 votes to Fairchild's 63. The Democrats held their convention a week later and placed C. D. Robinson at the head of their ticket. The Fairchild ticket was elected in November with an average majority of 9,000, nearly double the majority given the republicans two years previously.

Again in the legislature which met in 1870, we find the railroad rate question in agitation. A bill was introduced having for its purpose the establishment of uniform rates, and to regulate the running connection of railways. The bill failed of passage, but there was a sharp discussion of it which revealed intense feeling. This legislature passed what is known as the Esterly law, which authorized cities and towns to give aid to railways by taking securities not to exceed $5,000 per mile.

A little spice was added to the work of the session by the proposition to remove the capital to Milwaukee. Milwaukee had recently completed a fine courthouse, sufficiently large to accommodate the State administration offices, and this courthouse was offered to the State if the removal were made. It is not probable that the proposition originated in seriousness, but it became a very serious matter to Madison people and those of the middle and southwestern parts of the State, and some active political maneuvering was done. The bill never got beyond the Assembly, where it was defeated by a vote of 56 to 30.

In the fall of 1870 Alexander Mitchell and C. A. Eldridge, Democrats, and G. W. Hazelton, J. Allen Barber, Philetus Sawyer, and J. M. Rusk, Republicans, were elected to Congress.

Although no recommendations were made in the Governor's message of 1871 concerning railway legislation, a limited anti-pass measure was introduced making it a felony for a juror or a commissioner in a railway damage award case to accept a free railway pass. The measure failed to pass. The liveliest contest of the session, and one that brought into action the political ability of nearly all the members, was what is known as the Chippewa Improvement and Boom Company bill. The measure involved a sharp rivalry between Eau Claire and Chippewa Falls, and its promoters and opponents managed to get it entangled with every other piece of important legislation. The bill passed, but was vetoed by Governor Fairchild.

At the Republican State Convention, held in August, there were two prominent candidates for Governor, General C. C. Washburn and William E. Smith. Washburn was nominated. The Democratic State Convention, held the same month, nominated Ex-Senator Doolittle for Governor, and General E. S. Bragg for Attorney-General. Doolittle, who had recovered, measurably, from the feeling engendered by his support of President Johnson, went into the campaign vigorously, and with much confidence that he would be elected. The Washburn ticket, however, was elected by a majority of about 10,000.

CARPENTER'S FIRST ELECTION

Senator Doolittle's apostasy, as it was called by the Republicans, made impossible his re-election to the Senate, and as the end of his term approached, and especially after the election of the legislature in 1869, a great deal of attention was given to the subject of the senatorship. It was the general expectation that General Washburn would be a candidate. He had served several terms in Congress, had risen to the rank of major-general during the war of secession, and was a man of wealth and distinction in the State. But there were other candidates also. Horace Rublee, at that time one of the editors of the State "Journal," and very widely acquainted, became a recognized candidate, as did former Governor Salomon and O. H. Waldo, the latter a prominent attorney of Milwaukee. Somewhat late in the campaign Matthew Hale Carpenter, a brilliant lawyer, who had won distinction also as an orator, and who, during the war, as a Democrat, had warmly supported the administration of President Lincoln, entered the contest. Once having determined to be a candidate, Carpenter entered upon the campaign with all the force and brilliancy for which he was noted, and soon it was apparent that the real contest was to be between him and Washburn. A. M. Thomson, a Janesville editor, and at this session Speaker of the Assembly, took charge of Carpenter's cause, and to him is attributed the conception of the scheme to exhibit the comparative ability of the different candidates, in what Mr. Rublee grimly called

a "spelling-down match." An invitation was issued, signed by a majority of the members of the legislature, inviting the different senatorial candidates to address the legislature on a specified evening "on the political issues of the day." The city was full of visitors, the senatorial contest having drawn hundreds of people from throughout the State, and when the evening came the candidates had a large audience. It should be said that Carpenter was the only candidate who willingly accepted the invitation. The others not being speakers, and realizing that they would be at a disadvantage beside Carpenter, yet dared not decline the invitation. Carpenter spoke first. He was not only a brilliant and attractive speaker, but he was a good "mixer"; he had the art of putting himself at once in sympathy with his hearers. He pleased, naturally. Washburn followed, and being somewhat annoyed at the exhibition, displayed some temper, which did not help his cause. The other gentlemen acquitted themselves fairly well, but all felt from that evening that Carpenter was to be the winner. It took six ballots in the Republican caucus, however, to determine the result. The contest, owing to the strategy of the joint oratorical exhibition, has gone into legislative history by the title applied to it by Mr. Rublee—Spelling-down Match. The political significance of the oratorical contest has perhaps been overestimated. There is little reason to doubt that Carpenter, with his magnetic personal qualities, his energy and determination, would have won without this. The "Spelling-down Match," however, served to soften the blow to the dis-

HORACE RUBLEE.

appointed candidates by making it clear to them how plainly they were at a disadvantage in the contest with the brilliant lawyer.

CARPENTER'S DEFEAT

It needed more goodwill than he had stored up from his successful candidacy in 1869, and more philosophy than he had cultivated during a brilliant term in the Senate, to enable Carpenter to accept with good grace the defeat that came to him in 1875. He had distinguished himself in the Senate beyond the expectations of his warmest admirers. He had crossed steel with the leaders of that body of able men, such as Sumner, and his forensic ability and evident legal acumen had made him a national character. When the close of his term arrived, therefore, none of his friends and admirers, much less himself, could conceive that there was any doubt of a re-election. But based chiefly upon personal grounds, an opposition had grown up which assumed momentous import when the legislature met. Both houses were safely Republican, and Judge E. W. Keyes, then chairman of the State Central Committee, had charge of Carpenter's campaign. The caucus was held and Carpenter won there easily; but it was significant that a goodly number of Republicans, when they found that Carpenter would carry the caucus, refused to attend. However, Judge Keyes' position as the head of the party, and more, his known ability as a successful leader and dictator, made his declaration that Carpenter would be

re-elected seem prophetic, and few doubted that that would be the result. Nevertheless, the opponents stood together. Washburn was in the field as a candidate. Carpenter and his friends claimed that this was a breach of faith; that Washburn had agreed not to enter the senatoral field—but there he was. It was found that there were seventeen Republican Senators and Assemblymen who declared their intention not to vote for Carpenter when the legislature voted. Carpenter hurried home from Washington; his colleague, Howe, urged the Republicans to stand by him; General Grant was alleged to have urged the Republican leaders to aid Carpenter. The candidate himself talked, pleaded and promised; Judge Keyes commanded and threatened, but all without avail. When the day arrived for the two houses to ballot Carpenter had 59 votes, eight less than the necessary number. The bolters divided their votes between Washburn, Cole, Bragg (the Democratic candidate), Rùblee, former Governor Lewis and Judge Orton. "Thus the vote stood," says Carpenter's biographer, "with but slight variations during ten long, stormy days —days full of suspense, sorrow, bitterness, supplication, agony and hatred." Judge Keyes, in his written account of the contest, says all honorable means were taken to break the ranks of the bolters. Their friends and neighbors from their different sections of the State were brought to Madison to plead and to advise them. There were times when it seemed likely that the bolters could not hold out. When Carpenter's friends thought the opposition was going to pieces there sud-

denly appeared a printed statement addressed to the Republicans of the State, and signed by all the bolters, giving the reasons why they could not support Carpenter. Having thus publicly declared their position there was little likelihood of any break. And yet it is the testimony of Judge Keyes that if a blizzard had not delayed the arrival of trains bringing new relays of influential friends to plead with the bolters, Carpenter would have won. It was frequently charged that Washburn was the chief influence in holding the bolters together—not because he felt confident of winning himself, but that he was bitterly opposed to Carpenter. But the weight of testimony is that Ex-Senator Doolittle, a puritan in his religion and his morals, and bitterly opposed to Carpenter, was the chief influence in holding the opposition together. Doolittle had no love for Cameron, but he advised the coalition of the Democrats and the bolters to compass Carpenter's defeat. It was through Doolittle that the Democrats agreed to vote once for any Republican whom the bolters would name. Then there was lively work to decide upon the Republican. Justice Cole, then upon the Supreme Court Bench, seemed to many the most available man, though he had been urgent in his advice to the bolters to stand by the caucus nominee. Cameron, also, had from his home in La Crosse written and telegraphed to bolting members not to disrupt the party, but vote for Carpenter. Cole, however, seemed most in favor—Washburn had given up and gone from Madison before the culmination of the contest—and had it not been for prejudice against

Cole on the part of some German Democrats because of a court decision in favor of temperance, made some years prior, Cole would probably have been the man selected. When the crucial moment arrived it was found that all the bolters and all the Democrats would vote for Cameron, but that several would not vote for Cole. The situation was too delicate to admit of any experiments, and the Carpenter opposition decided upon Cameron, who was elected on the next vote.

WASHBURN'S ADMINISTRATION

Washburn was still a member of the lower house of Congress when he was defeated for the Senate by Carpenter. His term in Congress expired in March, 1871. Before his retirement it had been agreed upon by the leaders of the party that he would be a candidate for Governor. It was alleged later—in 1875—when Washburn was again a candidate for the Senate against Carpenter, that before his term in Congress expired he had come to an explicit agreement with Senators Howe and Carpenter that he would not again be a candidate for the Senate, and that the Senators would support his gubernatorial ambition. In justice to Washburn it should be said that he vehemently denied having made such an agreement. When the Republican State Convention met in 1871, William E. Smith, then State treasurer, was a candidate, but Washburn not only had the support of the two Senators, but all the Republican Congressmen, and of the party organization as well.

He was nominated by a vote of 142 to 111 for Smith. In the legislature of 1872 we get the first glimpse of W. D. Hoard, afterward Governor, in politics. He was elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate. In his message Governor Washburn touched quite as much upon affairs of national import as upon purely State matters. He advocated a telegraph postal system and took a strong stand in favor of a reform of the Federal Civil Service. This legislature passed the general incorporation act, which did away with separate acts incorporating private companies. An unsuccessful attempt was made to repeal a number of railroad charters. By far the most important act of the legislature was the enactment of the Civil Damage Law, known as the Graham law. This law was almost as radical as its predecessor, the Bond Law of 1849. It made the vendor of liquor liable in damages to the family of a drunkard to whom he sold liquor. Robert Graham, afterward superintendent of public instruction, was the author of the bill, and the contest over it was very bitter. In the general election in the fall Wisconsin gave Grant a plurality of 19,000.

In his second message to the legislature at the beginning of his second year (1873), Governor Washburn took up the railroad question in a vigorous manner. "Many vast and overshadowing corporations," he told the legislature, "in the United States are justly a source of alarm." And he advises the legislature that it "cannot scan too closely every measure that should come before it which proposed to give additional rights and privileges to the railways of the State." He recom-

mended a board of railway commissioners. During this session the legislature passed a bill authorizing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien. This measure Governor Washburn vetoed on the alleged ground that it nullified an act of Congress. This veto angered the legislature and the railroads. An attempt was made to pass it over his veto, but it failed.

It was charged by the railroad men and other enemies of Washburn that his veto of the bill was based not upon constitutional grounds, as he alleged, but because he believed that the bridge at Prairie du Chien would injure the traffic of his home city, La Crosse. Whatever merit this charge may have had, Washburn must have the credit of stating his constitutional grounds of objection very clearly. He took occasion, too, to give the legislature a sharp rebuke. He tells them that such a bold act of nullification (of Federal authority) was never attempted even by those States known to be the most jealous in guarding their State sovereignty.

In his second message Washburn had recognized the opposition which the Graham law had aroused, but took the ground that the law should be given a trial before attempting to repeal it. As stated elsewhere, this was one of the things used to defeat him. Washburn was not wholly in harmony with the leaders of his party in the State; nevertheless, he was given an unanimous renomination, and W. R. Taylor became the candidate of the allied liquor-granger Democratic party. It is told in another place how Washburn was defeated by this combination.

TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION

To the casual observer of political movements there appeared no reason in 1873 why Governor Washburn and his party should not be continued in power. It is true Washburn had not been wholly satisfactory to the party leaders, and he had not worked altogether harmoniously with the legislature; and, too, he had antagonized the railroads—but no one or all of these had caused any conspicuous or open rupture. Washburn had served several terms in Congress and was a man of unquestioned integrity, as well as of firmness of opinion. He is described by those who knew him as cold and unsympathetic in his personal relations, but this may have been based upon his disinclination to adopt the views of other party leaders upon dominant questions, and a large measure of self-confidence. In his first message to the legislature he took a decided stand for government telegraph postal service. He evidently consulted his own judgment rather than the political wisdom of his associates when he said in his second message that "many vast and overshadowing corporations in the United States are justly the source of alarm" and added that "the legislature cannot scan too closely every measure that should come before it which proposed to give additional rights and privileges to the railways of the State." His attitude here and in his veto of a bill passed by large majorities authorizing the C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co. to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien brought him the hostility of

the railroads; his endorsement of the Civil Damage law, known as the Graham law; and lastly and chiefly, the rapid growth of the Grange movement during the eighteen months preceding the election of 1873, had given the Democrats hope.

It was an incongruous combination, an "unholy alliance," if not formed out of the naturally antagonistic elements, at least engendered of the conditions, that brought about Taylor's election. Taylor was a well-educated farmer of Dane County, an aggressive member of the Grange, and a man of unquestioned integrity. The Grange had not hitherto entered politics openly; and it was still claimed by its prominent members that whatever they did in politics must be done outside the organization. But the Grange certainly did work with quite remarkable unanimity, whether technically within the portals or "outside the gates" of its effective organization.

For the election of Taylor credit has generally been given to the Granger movement, but there is good reason to believe that had it not been for the aggressive action of the liquor interests, under the guidance and inspiration of Sam Rindskopf, who afterward became better known in connection with the Whiskey trials; and the very effective antagonism of the railway interests, which had come to look upon Washburn as an enemy, the Granger movement itself could not at that time have elected a State ticket. Taylor was elected by a majority of about 15,000—not sufficiently large to warrant the belief that the Granger movement itself could have ac-

complished the result. It was a combination of three factors which elected him, and any one failing he could not have won. The combination was incongruous in that the railroads worked to elect a ticket which evolved the most radical railway law yet enacted, the Potter law; and the Grange, a majority of whose members held pronounced temperance views, worked in collusion with the most virulent of the anti-temperance element—no such combination had ever been seen working in Wisconsin up to that time and nothing since, until the alliance made in 1890 between the Catholics and the Lutherans to defeat the Republicans because of the enactment of the Bennett law. To the Democratic party leaders of that time is due large credit for the strategy which effected the combination.

The reform party had elected a majority in the legislature on joint ballot, but not a majority in the Senate. Some, therefore, of the more radical measures touching railway interests failed of passage in the Senate. Governor Taylor, in his first message, suggested a railway commission to aid in remedying the transportation evils, but did not recommend it. Nevertheless, the legislature passed the measure, which became famous as the Potter law, and which is treated under a separate caption. It also passed a stringent anti-pass law similar to the one enacted by the legislature of 1899. Both these measures were repealed in 1876, though the Potter law had been upheld by the Supreme Court of the State, and by the United States District Court.

It may not be out of place here to refer to the Potter

law, a measure just in many of its provisions, yet repealed in the face of its endorsement by the courts, as proof that the measure was born before its time; and proof also that the claim that the Granger movement was the cause of Governor Taylor's election, alone, is not well founded. Had the Granger movement been sufficiently strong in 1873 to elect Governor Taylor and a Democratic legislature, without the aid of the railroads and the liquor interest, it would not have fallen to pieces so soon after its success. It is eloquent of its inherent weakness as a distinct political movement that its apparent success disintegrated it, almost before that success could be realized.

Governor Taylor gave the State a creditable administration. The legislature elected in his second year was largely Democratic, so that what he accomplished with his first legislature is all that is distinctively to his credit. He and the balance of the ticket were defeated by the Ludington ticket in 1875. Governor Taylor's career is an illustration of the irony of fate. Had he succeeded in carrying the State against the Republicans again in 1875, he would have been, in all human probability, selected as Tilden's running mate in 1876. Had he been, and the ticket had carried Wisconsin, he would have been in line for the Presidency. Whether Governor Taylor ever indulged in any day dreams of this sort is not known, but his candidacy at the head of the Granger movement was pregnant of great possibilities.

In 1874, C. G. Williams, L. B. Caswell, H. S. Magoon, A. M. Kimball and J. M. Rusk, Republicans,

and Geo. W. Cate, S. D. Burchard and William Pitt Lynde, Democrats, were elected to Congress.

LUDINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

The administration of Governor Ludington, who defeated Governor Taylor for re-election in 1875, was rather uneventful, although some of the laws passed by the legislature were important in their bearing. The legislature of 1876 repealed the Potter law, notwithstanding its endorsement by the Federal Court and the Supreme Court of the State, and provided for the election of a railroad commissioner. This latter provision shows how strongly reactionary the legislature was. There was a demand apparently for the wiping out of all vestiges of the Potter law, and so the commission of three members had to go with the rest. The anti-pass law, also, was repealed. Ludington, who, through his business experience and association naturally had little sympathy with the movements to control the railways, did not hesitate, in his message, to recommend the repeal of the Potter law, and it was recognized that while his judgment might be at fault, his courage in making such recommendation was beyond question. This recommendation was one of the things used against him by members of his own party when the time approached for holding the next State convention, in 1877. Ludington had not proven pliable in the hands of his party friends in Milwaukee, and by persistent pressure from the younger members of the party in his home city he was

finally induced to announce through the press that he would not accept a renomination. It was during this year that Henry C. Payne began to take an influential part in the work of the Republican party in the State. Payne was the head of the Young Men's League, the work of which, together with the decisive action taken by the party the next year on the money issue, had much to do with winning the majority of the Germans in the State to the Republican banner. Payne afterward became postmaster in Milwaukee, and was for years the recognized leader of the party. He was a candidate for a place in McKinley's Cabinet, but failed of appointment. In 1901 he was appointed Postmaster-General in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, which position he held until his death in 1904.

In 1876 a young woman, Miss Lavinia Goodell, applied for admission to the bar, and Chief Justice Ryan, giving the decision of the court, refused the application. The next session of the legislature, that of 1877, passed a law allowing women to practise law. John B. Cassoday, the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was Speaker of the Assembly when that law was enacted.

The pressure brought by the younger Republicans of Milwaukee to get Governor Ludington out of the field contemplated the bringing out of Wm. E. Smith for Governor, and when the convention met Mr. Smith was nominated.

CAMERON'S ELECTION

The story of Angus Cameron's election as United States Senator to succeed Carpenter has already been told in the account of Carpenter's defeat. There remains to be said that Cameron had not only not encouraged the bolt to himself, but had strongly advised the re-election of Carpenter as a measure of party safety. He was not less surprised than were the Republicans of the State generally. Angus Cameron was a native of New York, born of Scotch parents. He was a lawyer of large means and had served five years in the legislature, four in the Senate and one in the Assembly. Of the latter house he was the speaker. He was recognized as a man of character and ability, and the Republicans of the State accepted his election with kindliness.

Next to Carpenter, Judge Keyes was the most influential and conspicuous figure in the bitter contest. His loyalty to Carpenter probably prevented one of the other Republican candidates from being elected. A number of times he was approached by representatives of the bolters and told that if he would withdraw Carpenter he could name the Republican to be elected. But Keyes' respect for party organization and his personal loyalty to Carpenter, once having taken up the Senator's cause, impelled him to spurn the proposition as often as it was made.

A dramatic incident occurred when the vote was being taken which elected Cameron. As the names were called, the Democrats and bolters all gave Cameron their votes,

and just when the call had progressed to a point which gave Cameron a majority, and in the midst of a tremendous cheer that went up from the bolters, a Democrat arose and addressed the chair, saying: "I desire to change my vote from Cameron to Carpenter." A buzz as of excited bees went up from the Assembly and the suspense was terrible to both sides. There was a moment's delay which seemed to Carpenter's opponents to be interminably long. The Carpenter men broke out in wild cheering, believing that the deadlock was broken. When they subsided the clerk announced the vote giving Cameron the election.

No one ever suspected Cameron of having even negatively encouraged the coalition in his own behalf, and there is no record of any demands having been made upon him by Democrats for the service they rendered him at that time. At the expiration of Senator T. O. Howe's third term, in 1880, Senator Carpenter was elected to succeed him. He died a year later, and Senator Cameron, whose first term had expired but three or four days, was elected to fill out Carpenter's unexpired term.

THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT

Wisconsin has not been a fertile field for the cultivation of financial vagaries, yet the greenback movement took root in the State, and blossomed out into a State ticket in 1877, duly nominated, on a platform that had the merit of directness, at least. Like similar move-

Whitfield Smith

ments in other periods it drew to itself the disaffected in the older parties, and seemed to appeal strongly to the farmer and the laboring classes. It was this that made the old parties treat the greenback heresy with a tenderness which the dominant sentiment, at least among the Republicans, did not warrant. Its propagandists were energetic and conspicuous and the progress made in the agricultural sections alarmed the old parties. As a consequence, the Republican State convention, which nominated Wm. E. Smith for Governor, in 1877, wobbled shamelessly on the money question. It resolved in its platform that "we hold that silver should be restored to its former place as money, and made legal tender in the payment of debts except where otherwise distinctly provided by law." Like all weak attempts to compromise a well-defined principle, this money plank in the Republican platform failed to satisfy those for whom it was made—and it simply compelled the Democrats to go a step farther. The convention of the latter party declared "its hostility to the financial policy of the Republican party, withdrawing capital from taxation, increasing the public debt by declaring currency bonds payable in gold, demonetizing silver in the interest of the creditor at the expense of the debtor and attempting to force resumption when it will bring ruin upon the business of the country, etc." It declared also "its opposition to national bank currency, and demanded that the Government furnish its own notes in place thereof."

The Greenbackers who couldn't affiliate with the Democrats nor the Socialists and called themselves "mid-

dle-of-the-road" Greenbackers, held their convention at Portage, and placed at the head of their ticket Edw. P. Allis, a prominent and wealthy manufacturer of Milwaukee. Their platform demanded the immediate repeal of the Specie Resumption Act; declared that it was an exclusive function of the Government to supply a circulating medium; and expressed belief that paper money issued by the Government was the best circulating medium.

The Socialists came to the front as a party for the first time that fall and nominated a ticket, calling themselves Social Democrats. Their platform, like that of the Greenbackers, was explicit. They demanded that all industries be put in control of the Government and operated by free co-operative unions for the good of the whole people; declared all charters of telegraph and mining companies void and that these enterprises should be conducted by the Government; and declared for universal suffrage. The foreign contingent in Milwaukee at a meeting held subsequent to the convention were strongly against woman suffrage. Colin Campbell, a sturdy old Scotchman whom the party had named for Governor, announced that the universal suffrage plank must stand or he would not, and it stood.

No more incongruous elements, however, were brought together under the Greenback and Socialist banners than were under the Democratic flag. In view of the position taken later by some of them upon the money question, it is interesting, to say the least, to find the names of Wm. F. Vilas, E. B. Vilas and General

Bragg as candidates before a convention that had declared its hostility to national bank currency, and practically demanded a greenback currency. The platform was known as the Bragg platform. Judge James Mallory, the candidate for Governor, was a prominent Greenbacker.

Horace Rublee, who had for years been conspicuous in the councils of the Republican party, and who had served eight years as United States Minister to Switzerland, was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. He was dissatisfied with the equivocal position taken by the convention on the currency issue. Wm. E. Smith, the candidate for Governor, and J. M. Bingham, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, fully sympathized with him and Mr. Rublee, determined to call a public meeting in Milwaukee wherein the Republican party could right itself. The meeting was held and resolutions were adopted placing the party unequivocally on a sound money platform. This action did much to align the Germans on the side of the Republican party. It defined clearly the chief issue between the Republicans and the three other parties, and put the Republican ticket, with Governor Smith at its head, squarely against the "field." The result was the election of the Smith ticket by a plurality of about 80,000.

GOVERNOR SMITH'S ADMINISTRATION

The Greenback movement seemed to collapse after the election of Governor Smith; at least it did not again

assume influence enough to seduce the Democratic party. It nominated a State ticket twice after this, but with diminishing results, and finally lost its identity in the Labor party. Not so much is heard of it thereafter as a political factor in Wisconsin. The resumption of specie payments and the improving condition of the country financially and industrially seemed to make unnecessary the demands which it had organized to give expression to. The first year of Governor Smith's administration passed with little to disturb the political quiet.

The second year the re-election of Senator Carpenter, after a sharp contest, an account of which is given elsewhere, lent a little spice to the situation. The legislature of 1879 passed a law against the adulteration of milk and milk products, which may be said to mark the advent of the cow in Wisconsin politics. The cow, it must be said, has cut an important figure in Wisconsin politics. The legislation, which through more or less agitation, has aided the development of the dairy business and agriculture generally to their present high state in Wisconsin, was not without effort; and when W. D. Hoard was styled the "cow" candidate for governor in 1888, it was not so much a term of reproach as a tribute to the recognized importance of the dairy interests, which Hoard had come to typify.

Governor Smith's first term, though offering little for the historian to seize upon, was marked by painstaking work, a freedom from acrimonious political discussion and a quiet dignity, which may be said to have charac-

J. M. Rusk

terized the Governor and his associates in the administration, as men. The ticket was unanimously renominated in the fall of 1879. The Democrats nominated Judge James G. Jenkins for Governor, and the Smith ticket was elected by a plurality of 12,000.

During the first year of Governor Smith's second term the State Republican convention was held to elect delegates to the national convention, which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. The part taken by Wisconsin in the nomination of Garfield forms an interesting episode in the political history of the State, and by far the most interesting of that year. In that convention, Wisconsin had twenty delegates, among the number being J. B. Cassoday, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin; Philetus Sawyer and Joseph V. Quarles, afterwards United States Senators; and General J. M. Rusk, afterward Governor of Wisconsin and a member of President Harrison's Cabinet. The delegation, as polled at the convention, stood 9 for Washburne; 7 for Blaine; 3 for Sherman; 1 for Grant, and thus it stood for long-drawn out balloting until the break came. That Wisconsin was chiefly responsible for the nomination of Garfield was conceded at the time, and hence the history of how the break came about and the attitude of General Garfield toward Wisconsin's move is of special interest. The story of it, as told by the late A. J. Turner of Portage, is as follows:

"It became apparent to me very early in the convention that there was to be a deadlock and I also became satisfied from the manner in which General Garfield was

received every time he entered the convention hall that he was a prime favorite with the people and would make a superb presidential candidate, and I so stated at a meeting of the delegation. The suggestion met with a ready response from other members of the delegation, and it was tacitly understood that at the proper time the delegation, or the most of it, would vote for General Garfield. All of the delegates, however, it was well understood, would be loyal to their chosen candidates as long as they had a fair chance of a nomination, but none of them were of the 'last ditch' order, save General Bryant, who was a Grant man at all times.

"On the day the nomination was made the excitement was intense. For a full week the battle had raged, and all felt that the strain could last no longer and that a break must come; but how the contest was to terminate no one might tell. On the ballot before any break occurred, it was urged by Mr. Carter, myself and perhaps others, that our votes now be given to General Garfield. Chairman Cassoday stepped over to the Indiana delegation and had a brief conference with General Harrison, and on his return he asked that the Washburn men give Mr. Washburn another vote, as there were reasons to think that on the next ballot a goodly number of the Indiana delegates would cast their votes for him also, and give an impetus to his candidacy. With this understanding, Delegates Carter and James of the Third District, voted for Mr. Washburn to contribute to his boom. There was a very kindly feeling toward Mr. Washburn, and they would have voted for him when

their favorite was out of the field. On the next ballot, however, when the Indiana delegation voted as they had been doing all along and Mr. Washburn received no additional strength from there, it became apparent to us all that he was a 'dead duck' and that we should look in another direction for a candidate, and the moment Indiana was polled there was a demand on Mr. Cassoday that our votes be reported for General Garfield. Mr. Cassoday polled the delegation hastily and had hardly got through before Wisconsin was called for its vote. It was given as stated, all of the Washburn men but one, General Van Steenwyk, the Sherman men and all of the Blaine men but one, Mr. Stephenson, voting for General Garfield.

"When the vote of Wisconsin was announced, the turmoil that had reigned supreme for a time was hushed for the moment as in the stillness of death, and every eye was turned toward the Wisconsin delegation as if to inquire, 'What does that mean?' It is absolutely certain that no delegate outside of our own delegation suspected that anything of the sort was about to happen. They could not have done so, for we didn't know ourselves what we were going to do until a moment before. In a moment the galleries and the convention itself were in the wildest uproar. It is doubtful if any such scene ever occurred in a convention before. The popular chord had been touched as if by the wand of a magician, and Wisconsin was profoundly happy over the furore it had created. General Garfield, pale and dumbfounded, arose from his seat and challenged the right of any delegate

to vote for him without his consent, a consent he had not given.

"While the uproar was at its height, Senator Frye of Maine made his way hastily to the seat of Senator Sawyer, a Blaine man, and urged him to bring the Blaine men of the delegation into line again. No doubt Mr. Sawyer's will was good, but there was an inexpressible sadness on his countenance as he shook his head and replied that he feared it was too late. Mr. Cassoday went back to Mr. Garfield's seat and urged him to leave the convention, as he was concerned lest he might peremptorily decline any further use of his name, but he regarded it as his duty to remain with the delegation. While this was transpiring, Senator Dickinson of Franklin County, New York, whose acquaintance I had formed, having formerly been a resident of that section of the State, came hastily to my seat and inquired confidentially if there was a concerted movement looking to the nomination of General Garfield. Right here, I must confess, as I stated to Mr. Cassoday at the time, that I 'stuffed the hat,' for I replied in the most confidential and positive manner possible, that there was, and that General Garfield's nomination was certain to be made. The twenty Blaine men from New York immediately came into our camp, but I do not assert that my report to Mr. Dickinson influenced their votes in the least degree. I confess that I felt some of the tinges of a guilty conscience that I should have deceived my friend, but I reconciled myself with the thought that it was all for the good of the cause.

"Right here I want to state what I regard as the finest piece of political generalship I ever saw in a convention, and I have attended a good many. When it seemed likely that the entire convention was about to be stampeded to General Garfield, General Beaver of Pennsylvania, the grim and grizzly one-legged old soldier that he was, mounted his seat, and resting upon his crutch, with a wave of his hand, gave the word of command to the immortal '306.'

" 'Grant, men, steady! steady!'

"The watchword was immediately taken up by the followers of the great commander, and quietly they passed the words: 'Grant, men, steady!' down their lines, and the column was firm once more as the rock of Chicamauga, and gave ample evidence of General Beaver's soldierly qualities.

"What followed every one knows. General Garfield was nominated and triumphantly elected. I am morally certain that if we had not voted for General Garfield at the very moment that we did, all of the other candidates would have withdrawn and the convention would have been brought to a direct vote on the next ballot between General Grant and James G. Blaine. Who is wise enough to say who would have been the choice of the convention in that event? I am not.

"One thing we can all remember with pride, however, and that was the magnificent manner in which Judge Cassoday announced the vote of Wisconsin. 'Wisconsin casts two votes for General Grant, two votes for James G. Blaine and ~~TWENTY~~ VOTES FOR GENERAL

4, 19.

JAMES A. GARFIELD!' His voice rang out as clear as a bugle note, and it electrified the convention."

The influential part taken by the Wisconsin delegation in the nomination of General Garfield naturally stimulated the feeling that Wisconsin should have a place in the Cabinet. Judge Keyes' friends started a movement in his behalf. His prominence and ability, together with his wide knowledge of the postal service, seemed to fit him especially for the position of Postmaster-General. But General Garfield had other plans, and the hope of the Wisconsin Republicans came to naught.

During the last year of Governor Smith's second term, (1881) Senator Carpenter died at Washington and Senator Cameron was elected to fill out the unexpired term. General Rusk was nominated for Governor by the Republicans, and Nicholas D. Fratt, a banker and farmer of Racine County, by the Democrats.

Soon after the death of President Garfield, Ex-Senator T. O. Howe was selected by President Arthur to be Postmaster-General.

CARPENTER'S SECOND ELECTION

Four years after his spectacular defeat, Carpenter was again a candidate for the United States Senate. The third term of Senator T. O. Howe expired in March, 1879. But others beside Carpenter had their eyes upon Howe's seat. Philetus Sawyer, who was later to serve two terms as United States Senator, was found to have aspirations; Senator Howe was more than willing to suc-

ceed himself; Horace Rublee was tentatively a candidate, and most important of all, Judge E. W. Keyes, whose conspicuous success as a party leader had exalted him to a high place in the eyes of the people of the State, was an avowed candidate. Indeed, Keyes had been laying plans for his candidacy for some time. And it was not surprising in view of the staunch loyalty shown by him to Carpenter four years previously, that Keyes and his friends felt that Carpenter might reciprocate at this time. But considerations of this kind did not weigh with Carpenter and his friends, and so the contest progressed with five candidates. When the caucus met and voted Keyes was shown to be slightly in the lead. The vote stood: Keyes, 28; Howe, 25; Carpenter, 24; Sawyer, 5; Rublee, 5. There was no such intense feeling manifested as during the contest which ended in Cameron's election, yet the contest was a sharp one and the previous relation of the leading candidates made the situation a delicate one. At the end of five days Keyes and Howe withdrew and Carpenter was named. He died about two years later in Washington, while attending the session of Congress.

In several ways Carpenter was the most brilliant man that Wisconsin has sent to the United States Congress. He was a great lawyer and an orator and debater of remarkable power. But these, with all of his attractive personal qualities, never won for him the measure of confidence of the people which his predecessor, Judge Howe, enjoyed. Whether he would have attained to Howe's place in the confidence of the people had he lived

is doubtful, but he added luster to the name of his State and deserves a place in her hall of fame.

SAWYER'S ELECTION

Senator Cameron's first term in the United States Senate came to an end in 1881. Philetus Sawyer, who had already served ten years in the lower house of Congress, was a candidate for the seat. E. W. Keyes was also a candidate, and it seemed to many that he was the most promising one. Keyes really seemed to be the logical candidate. He had brought about Carpenter's election by withdrawing four years previously, and in 1875, when Carpenter was defeated, Keyes resisted all temptations to forsake Carpenter and stuck to him loyally to the end. His prominence in the party and his recognized ability seemed to point to him as the man—but the sharp contest ended in a victory for Sawyer, who then entered upon a twelve years' experience in the Senate.

Keyes' loyalty to his party and his persistent cheerfulness and kindliness saved him from sulking in his tent at this time, as it did a month later, when, his friends felt, upon the death of Senator Carpenter, that he should be Carpenter's successor, and Cameron, recently defeated by Sawyer, stepped in and carried off the honor.

GOVERNOR RUSK'S ADMINISTRATION

The election of General Rusk as Governor, in the fall

of 1881, brought to the front one of the most picturesque figures in the political history of the State. General Rusk was not an unknown factor in the party. He had served several terms in Congress and had been State Bank Comptroller. He also had an excellent military record before his election as Governor. But the executive office offered room for the exercise of those qualities which gave him renown as an administrative officer, and as a shrewd politician. With one exception—Robert M. La Follette—Rusk had the best practical knowledge of politics as a working science of any one who has figured in political leadership in the State. There was a romantic glamour over his career, too, which tended to enhance his importance in politics. He was a product of Ohio and began his life in Wisconsin as a farmer. He was uncouth and uneducated. Later he graduated as a stage driver, and here his qualities as a "mixer" came into play. In a few years he was elected a member of the legislature. Then the war broke out, and he went into the service as a major and came out a brigadier-general. Then he was elected State Bank Comptroller and after that he was sent to Congress. It was a career that appealed to the imagination of the farmers, and to the ambitious in all walks of life. If Rusk's winning qualities were to be summed up in one expression it would be that he was possessed of an uncommon portion of common sense.

Rusk's administration was not distinguished by legislation of paramount importance. John C. Spooner was elected Senator at the expiration of Cameron's term in

1885. The legislative sessions were changed from annual to biennial, and this change lengthened Governor Rusk's first term to three years. As he was elected three times, he has the distinction of having occupied the office of Governor of the State longer than any other incumbent —seven years.

It was during Governor Rusk's second term that the labor riots occurred in Milwaukee, and the Governor's prompt action in quelling them gave him national fame. In May, 1886, all the federated trades unions in Milwaukee joined in a strike to secure an eight-hour day. It took but a few days for the thousands of idle men to become lawless. Men in factories who had not joined the strike were compelled to quit work, sometimes by force, and a general paralysis of industries was threatened. The local authorities were unable to cope with the strikers. In defiance of proclamations great gatherings were held, and in the section of the city where there were many pronounced anarchists it seemed inevitable that there would come a widespread destruction of property and probably a great loss of life. The city authorities hesitated about calling on the Governor for help, but pressure from the business and manufacturing interests finally brought about an appeal to the Governor through the sheriff's office. Governor Rusk came promptly, accompanied by several members of his staff. The situation was explained to him, and several of the big manufacturers whose plants were still being operated, and the officers of the C. M. & St. P. Railway demanded protection for their property and men. Affairs

seemed hastening to a crisis. The strikers were angry and defiant, declaring that they would close every factory and shop by force if the men still at work did not join them peacefully. The most ominous feature of the situation was the influence exerted by the anarchistic element of the strikers. Paul Grottkau, an agitator and anarchist, was delivering speeches in all parts of the city, wherever the strikers assembled.

Governor Rusk called several companies of the National Guard in the city into service. One of these companies was the Kosciusko Guards, made up chiefly of Poles, who came from the section of the city where the majority of the strikers lived. That this company should be called out to protect the peace against the acts of their neighbors, friends and relatives, angered the strikers. While this company was guarding the works of the Illinois Steel Company, at Bay View, the strikers attacked them, throwing slag, stones and clubs. The guards fired at the crowd, but no one was killed, and the strikers grew more angry and lawless. The next day the strikers in larger numbers—there were more than 1,500 in the crowd—went to Bay View with the expressed purpose of driving out the workmen there who had refused to strike. The officers in command of the troops had been given explicit orders. They were to warn the strikers not to enter the grounds of the steel company; then, if they persisted, to fire over their heads. If this did not deter them the troops were to fire directly into the ranks. The troops were compelled to fire into the strikers, and in all seven persons were killed. The

strikers retreated and then dispersed for the day, threatening dire vengeance upon the troops. Representatives of the strikers called on Governor Rusk at his hotel and protested against the firing by the troops. Governor Rusk's reply was pointed and forceful. He said in substance, "Go back and tell your men that if they keep the peace they will not be disturbed, but that I shall protect from violence the men who desire to work, and the property of the city, if I have to shoot down every law-violating striker in Milwaukee." This declaration, clear and decisive, backed as it was by the action of the soldiers that day, put an end to the strike. After that night there was no further disturbance, and Governor Rusk was hailed as the man of the hour. His prompt and effective action not only quieted the trouble in Milwaukee, but it was believed to have had a wholesome effect in other States where there were labor troubles.

Governor Rusk's course during the riots naturally made him objectionable to the strike leaders and agitators generally, and it was threatened that if he were renominated the labor vote would defeat him, but the order-loving people stood by him. T. A. Chapman, at that time the leading merchant of Milwaukee, had been talked of as likely to be nominated to succeed Rusk at the close of the latter's second term, but Mr. Chapman, in a newspaper interview soon after the riots were quelled, declared that he couldn't think of being a candidate if Rusk could be induced to run again. "This State owes it to itself and to Governor Rusk," said Mr. Chapman, "to place the seal of approval upon his action

during the labor troubles." Rusk was not averse to serving another term, and so, without opposition, he was nominated and then elected.

It was during Rusk's second term that the Republican leaders began to fear that unless something were done to divert the movement the Prohibition party would in a few years gain sufficient numbers to endanger the Republican majority—the Prohibition accretion being almost wholly from the Republican ranks. In 1884 the Temperance Party in Wisconsin became affiliated with the National Prohibition Party. Ten years previously an attempt had been made to bring about such an affiliation, but the leaders of the temperance element took the ground that the Republican party had always been friendly to the temperance cause, and that there was no reason for leaving it. It was then the hope of the temperance leaders that through Republican assistance they could secure the submission to the people of a prohibitory law. In 1878 a petition with 15,000 names, asking that the people be allowed to vote on a prohibitory law, was presented to the legislature. William T. Price, then a State Senator, presented the petition. The petition was denied. The following year a petition with 40,000 names was presented and again denied. In 1880, 1881 and 1882 the legislature was repeatedly asked to submit the question to the people, and each time it was denied, the vote against granting the petition being larger in 1882 than it had been in 1874.

In June, 1881, a convention held at Madison voted to put a separate ticket in the field, the name of the new

party being the Independent Temperance party. An anti-treating law had been passed by the legislature as a sort of sop to the temperance people, but that was repealed by the next legislature. When, therefore, the Temperance party, in despair of securing what they wished from the Republicans, affiliated with the National Prohibition party, the Republicans felt that there was danger in the situation. The Republican leaders believed something should be done to avert the threatened trouble.

At the City Republican Convention in Milwaukee, in the spring of 1884, held to nominate a mayor, Emil Wallber was named, and the platform he canvassed and was elected upon contained a temperance plank reading substantially thus: "We believe the liquor interests should bear their fair and just proportion of the expenses of government." It wasn't very strong, and what there was of it was non-committal, but it was meant to pacify the temperance people. The platform upon which Governor Rusk was renominated contained substantially the same plank. Mild and inoffensive as it seemed, it was the means of bringing about a change in the license law, which quadrupled the minimum fee for selling liquors, and made it possible for a city once in three years to vote to raise the amount to the maximum. In other words, it was a step in the direction of submitting the liquor control question to the people. Edward Sanderson and Henry C. Payne, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Republican State Central Committee, were the men who proposed the temperance plank and afterward secured the law referred to.

The effort to pacify the Prohibitionists by increasing the cost of licenses to sell liquor was not very successful. In the fall of 1886 John M. Olin, the Prohibition candidate for Governor, received 17,089 votes. This was the high-water mark for the Prohibitionists. The total vote that year was 286,332. In 1904, when the total vote cast was 449,560, the Prohibitionists polled less than 9,000 votes.

The decline in strength and influence of a movement that promised so much as a factor in politics is interesting and worthy of study. Perhaps later a longer perspective may bring a clearer apprehension of causes of that decline than can be gained now. From the viewpoint of the present day there seem to have been several contributing causes. Chief among them was the reaction from the intense feeling prevalent among temperance people that legislation must be the chief factor in promoting temperance. Then the aggressive organization of the liquor interests rallied to their support a large portion of the German population of the State, and caused temperance people who had formerly affiliated with the Republican party to fear the overthrow of that party by the liquor power, and the complete dominance of the latter in the administration of State affairs. Another factor was the higher standard of personal temperance which had been cultivated throughout the State, in part, at least, by the political agitation, and still another was the enactment of the Australian voting system which prohibited the holding of caucuses and elections in or about saloons.

SPOONER'S ELECTION

Angus Cameron had been re-elected United States Senator in 1881 to fill out the residue of Carpenter's term after the latter's death. This term was to expire in March, 1885. The previous fall John C. Spooner, of Hudson, general solicitor for the Omaha Railway, had made a very thorough speaking canvass of the State in the interest of the State and national tickets. Spooner, though a native of Indiana, had come to Wisconsin when but a lad, was educated at the State University and began his very successful law practice here. He had been known hitherto as a public speaker of ability, but in the campaign referred to he outdid himself. Wherever he went—and he traveled continuously for forty days preceding the election—he drew great audiences. This campaign, combined with a very pleasing personality and address, made him for the time being the most popular man in the State. It was very natural that he should be frequently mentioned after the fall elections as a suitable candidate for the Senate. Before Spooner decided to announce himself, however, a candidate better known than he had entered the field—General Lucius Fairchild.

General Fairchild was but recently returned from abroad, where he had successfully been Consul-General and Minister to Spain. His distinguished services during the war, his record as Secretary of State, and Governor for three terms, together with his honorable services abroad, gave him a distinction which seemed likely to obscure the pretensions of any other candidate. When

Spooner entered the contest later he was backed by the younger element of the party, while General Fairchild had the support of most of the party leaders, and of the principal party paper, the Milwaukee "Sentinel." Mr. Rublee, then editor of the "Sentinel," did not know Spooner well, while he and Governor Fairchild had been life-long friends. The "Sentinel's" support of Fairchild was therefore exceedingly earnest, and Spooner fared roughly at its hands. It was an interesting contest, considering the candidates alone. Spooner was but forty-two, and Fairchild twenty years older. When Fairchild was Governor Spooner had been his private secretary. Spooner had also seen service in the war; he went in as a private and came out a major. An outsider given the facts concerning the two men, and not knowing the influences at work, would probably have considered Fairchild's prospects of success much the brighter. But Spooner was elected and entered upon a career which has not only brought renown to himself but has added luster to the name of the State he represents. It is true his opportunities have been greater than were afforded others, such as the conditions and perplexing constitutional problems growing out of the Spanish-American War and its conquests. But his glory is that he has always been equal to the opportunity. He took a place in the front rank as a debater early in his first term. So commanding a position did he occupy at the close of that term that had the Republicans been in power in the State he would have been reelected without a thought of opposition. But in the meantime there had been a political

revolution in Wisconsin, brought about by the Bennett law agitation, and there was a Democratic legislature assembled in Madison.

After Hoard's defeat by George W. Peck, in 1890, by the largest majority that had ever been given a successful gubernatorial candidate, it took the Republican leaders several years to regain their confidence, and when the time came for holding the State convention in 1892 there was but one candidate that could be called such in the field—Major W. H. Upham, of Marshfield. Remembering Senator Spooner's splendid field work in the campaign of 1884, the party leaders proposed to him that he be a candidate. Spooner was averse to entering the field, feeling that it was an almost hopeless case, but finally when Major Upham consented to step out if Spooner would run, the latter agreed to contest the field with Peck. He made a splendid campaign, though a losing one, and Peck, with the prestige of a 30,000 majority in 1890, was elected by a plurality of but 7,000.

This campaign gave Spooner a still stronger hold upon the people than he had before, and five years later, when there was a Republican majority and Senator Vilas' term had expired, Spooner was reelected by the unanimous party vote as Vilas' successor. There were no other candidates. Several men were mentioned, but no other was seriously considered. He entered upon his duties at the same time that William McKinley was inaugurated President. The promise he gave of ability to cope with the most perplexing problems was more than fulfilled in the work he did while the momentous

questions growing out of the acquisition of territory through the Spanish-American War were before Congress. His work there has become a part of the history of the nation. The estimate in which he was held by President McKinley is shown in the fact that in 1898 he was offered the portfolio of Secretary of the Interior, and in 1901 was offered that of Attorney-General, both of which cabinet positions he declined, preferring to remain in the Senate.

Around Senator Spooner's third election there were some dramatic features that were wholly lacking in the former ones. There had come into the ascendancy in the party a new element, at the head of which was Robert M. La Follette, who in 1900 had been elected Governor. The story of his rise is told elsewhere. For several years before his election as Governor La Follette had advocated the enactment of a primary election law, and in the conventions of 1900 and 1902 the Republican party was pledged to the enactment of such a measure. La Follette and his friends believed that Spooner and the older party leaders who were with him were unfriendly to the measure, though so far as Senator Spooner was concerned he had never expressed himself on the subject. When the platform was brought before the convention it contained a clause laudatory of Spooner's brilliant work in the Senate, and recommended his reelection at the end of his term in 1903 *on condition* that Spooner endorse the platform to be adopted by the convention. This was felt by Spooner's friends to be both a rebuke and a threat. During the debate upon

this part of the platform Spooner's friends contended that his record as Senator being wholly satisfactory to his party, it was presumptuous to demand that he endorse in advance a measure he could have no part in enacting or enforcing, and that could have no legitimate connection with his work in the United States Senate. But the platform was adopted and it was generally understood that if Spooner should decline to endorse the platform his reelection would be opposed. Those who were unfriendly to Spooner felt that his self-respect would prevent his endorsement of the platform under such conditions, and that he could not be re-elected without making that concession. But the strength of the feeling throughout the State for Spooner had been underestimated. Within one week after the fall election in 1902, a majority of the members-elect and hold-overs had signed a paper pledging their support to Spooner. When in 1903 the time came, he was re-elected without an opposing vote in his party.

PECK'S ADMINISTRATION

George W. Peck, who was elected Governor on the Democratic ticket in 1890, had not figured prominently in politics prior to that year. He had held various appointive legislative positions, but that was all. In the spring of 1890 the Bennett law agitation gave new significance to the Democratic propaganda. Though he could hardly be classed as a young man, Peck was a great favorite with the younger element of the Democ-

racy in Milwaukee, and he was brought out as a candidate for Mayor and triumphantly elected. As the Germans began to line up with the Democrats during the summer, the belief grew that Peck was the man to be nominated for Governor, and in due time he received the nomination—not without some misgivings on his part, and a measure of surprise.

George W. Peck for several years prior to his selection for political honors had been publishing a humorous paper in Milwaukee—"Peck's Sun." This paper, with the publication in book form of "Peck's Bad Boy," which appeared first in serial form in the paper, brought to the editor and author wealth and a certain fame. It was, however, a genial personality, a persistent kindliness, and a manly frankness and simplicity which made him a popular candidate, rather than the literature which went forth under his name.

The campaign of that fall was one long to be remembered by those who participated in it. The Bennett law, which was the bone of contention, is treated of elsewhere. The Democratic campaign managers, with the shrewdness which characterized their predecessors during the granger movement, bent their energies upon widening the breach between the Catholics and Lutherans and the Republican party. It was at the suggestion of these leaders that the Lutheran and Catholic pastors became political organizers, and were able to report from all sections of the State, practically to a man, how their parishioners would vote. This knowledge gave the Democratic leaders great confidence. The only element

of uncertainty in the situation was the Bennett law Democrats. It was confidently claimed by the latter and by the Republicans that these bolters would poll 10,000 votes; indeed those at the head of the bolt claimed to have that many names on their list. But when the election came what there were of the Bennett law Democrats were merged in the pitiful Republican minority. Peck won by a plurality of about 30,000.

It was during Peck's first term that William F. Vilas was elected United States Senator, to succeed Senator Spooner. Vilas had been, prior to this, a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, and was recognized as the leading Democrat of the State. There was no serious opposition to his election as Senator in 1891. Even before his elevation to a Cabinet position he had acquired fame as a lawyer and as an orator far beyond the limits of the State. The speech delivered by him at the great banquet given to General Grant, after the latter's return from his trip around the world, brought him into immediate notice as one of the chief orators of the country. A few years later, in 1884, he had presided over the Democratic National Convention which nominated Grover Cleveland for President. He had been elected a member of the Assembly from one of the Dane County districts, and was serving in the legislature when called to Washington to accept a Cabinet portfolio. In the Senate Vilas soon took a leading place, his experience in the Cabinet giving him a prestige above many older Senators. It is probable that had his party been in control in Congress he would have acquired even a larger measure of fame.

The administration of Governor Peck was highly creditable to him and to his party. It was characterized by economy and painstaking work in all the departments. The two gerrymanders made by the legislature reflected severely upon the party generally, but it had no necessary connection with the excellent administrative work of Governor Peck and his associates in the capitol.

When the Democratic State Convention met in 1892 Governor Peck and the balance of the State officials were renominated by acclamation. The Republican convention, held early in the year to elect delegates to the national convention, repudiated entirely the Bennett law, and added that to have brought forward such an issue was unfortunate and unwarranted from any point of view. The regular Republican State Convention, held in May, which nominated Senator Spooner for Governor, resolved, "That we regard the educational issue of 1890 as permanently settled." In the election of 1892 Governor Peck's plurality at the previous election was reduced from 30,000 to 7,000, and the Democrats still controlled the legislature.

During Governor Peck's second term there was another senatorial election, and one which gave to the newspapers much interesting reading. Philetus Sawyer's term as Senator expired in 1893, and the candidates who had kept in the background because of Colonel Vilas' prominence two years before now came forward. General E. S. Bragg was the best known and the most conspicuous. Colonel John H. Knight, a friend and former business partner of Senator Vilas, announced his can-

didacy; and last but not least, Congressman John L. Mitchell entered the lists. Before the caucus General Bragg was to all appearances well in the lead, and the surprise was general when the first ballot taken in the caucus on January 18 showed Mitchell to have 29, Bragg 27, Knight 21, and Dodge 2. From that time on until a week later, when Mitchell won, the contest was sharp and at times bitter. Bragg's wide acquaintance, his war record, his fighting qualities, and, more than anything else, the rather threatening talk of his supporters, who seemed imbued with the little general's pugnacity, all tended to give the contest wide notoriety. The second formal ballot taken showed a gain for Mitchell of two, and a loss of one for Knight. The Bragg men held together to the end, and when the thirty-first ballot was taken on the afternoon of January 26, and Mitchell had 45 votes, the Bragg vote had increased to 33, without having been, at any stage of the proceedings, less than it was on the first ballot. The following day, January 27, in joint session, the legislature formally elected John L. Mitchell United States Senator.

A great deal of bitterness was engendered during the contest. It was charged that Senator Vilas was using all his influence to elect Colonel Knight, and that finding this impossible, and being determined to beat Bragg, he turned the Knight vote to Mitchell. General Bragg took his defeat very much to heart, and several years elapsed before he could recall with equanimity the incidents of the contest.

Senator Mitchell was a son of Alexander Mitchell,

then deceased, who had himself been a Congressman, and whose record as a banker and railroad president gave him prominence throughout the entire Northwest. The younger Mitchell had served during the war of the secession, and his work in the lower house had won the respect of his associates. He was a modest, unassuming man, and made no pretense to being an orator or an embryo statesman. His record of six years in the Senate confirmed among his associates there the estimate of him held by his friends in the State, that he was a man of scrupulous honesty, of painstaking industry, and possessed of rare judgment and tact in dealing with men.

THE TREASURY SUITS

The chief event which transpired during the four years' administration of Governor Peck, and one which reflects great credit upon him and his associates, was the suing of former State treasurers to recover interest money which they had received on State funds deposited in the different banks. The practice upon which these suits were based had been carried on for many years. Attention had occasionally been called to what was conceded by all to be a pernicious practice, by the press, but there was no organized effort to put a stop to it. In 1882, when the Republican leaders established a new morning paper in opposition to the "Sentinel," N. S. Murphy, the owner of the "Sentinel," carried on for a time a bitter attack upon the practice of the treasurers and charged that even the trust funds were being loaned for the personal profit of the treasurer. Somewhat later,

after the "Sentinel" had changed hands, the Milwaukee "Journal," a Democratic paper, took up the matter—not with any thought that the treasurers could be compelled to return the interest already taken, but with the hope of putting a stop to the practice. Then for a time the subject was dropped. In 1885 a Chicago paper, through correspondence from Wisconsin, pointed out the injustice, if not dishonesty, of allowing a treasurer to draw $25,000 a year from the State. Then the matter was dropped again, until 1889. In the meantime the incumbent of the office was drawing from $25,000 to $30,000 a year in interest.

The method by which the treasurers had secured large profit from the State funds was very simple. Whenever there was a surplus above the daily needs of the State in the treasury the surplus was deposited in some bank, and on this sum the banks paid two or three per cent. interest, the rate depending somewhat upon the needs of the bank. The banks carrying large State deposits would at the end of each quarter send a draft to the State treasurer, personally. In one case the treasurer had caution enough to have the quarterly interest remitted to a relative in another portion of the State, but these sums were readily traced when the suit was being tried. The grounds upon which the treasurers justified themselves was that they did not stand in the relation of trustees, but having each given a bond for the security of the State funds, their liability and that of their bondsmen ceased when they turned over to the State the sums which actually came into their hands. This was con-

sidered a plausible argument for the people, and particularly satisfying to the campaign managers of both parties, who in their turn called regularly upon the treasurers for large contributions to the campaign, but it did not stand before the court.

When the Democrats came into power in 1891 they were pledged to repeal the Bennett law; but this they felt would only be a negative virtue at best, and so they cast about for some means by which they could discredit the opposition and at the same time strengthen themselves. They decided that the misuse of the treasury funds was the most available issue. After some time in preparation, the Attorney-General, Mr. J. L. O'Connor, began suits first against Edward McFetridge and his bondsmen, and Henry Harshaw and his bondsmen. The cases came up in the November term of the Dane County Circuit Court, Judge Newman, from another circuit, being called in to try them. Judgment was entered in favor of the State in both cases, in March, 1892. An appeal was taken by both McFetridge and Harshaw to the Supreme Court.

The lower court found the following facts in the McFetridge case, which are applicable to the Harshaw case: That the State funds had been deposited in certain banks, with the understanding that they should pay the defendant treasurer interest thereon, the amount thereof, with interest from the beginning of the defendant's term added, being due the State. The conclusions of law were that the funds of the State in the custody of State treasurers belonged to the State, and that money earned

by them as interest belonged to the State as accessory to the fund, and should have been accounted for by the treasurers at the expiration of their terms of office; having failed to do this they and their bondsmen were severally responsible for the amount so unaccounted for. The appellants excepted to both the findings of fact and of law below in each and every particular, only in so far as they showed the terms of each treasurer.

On January 10, 1893, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case, confirming substantially the decision of the lower court. The opinion, which was unanimous, was an exhaustive document of about 15,000 words. The decision was in substance that the treasurers committed no criminal act in the deposit of the State funds, and that the title to such funds rests with the State and does not pass to the treasurers or their sureties; that the sureties were liable in that the failure to turn over the interest was a failure to perform the duties of office guaranteed by bondsmen; that the statutes could not contemplate allowing an officer to profit by his own illegal conduct; that the deposits were not made as an investment, and hence there was no violation of the law prohibiting the investment by treasurers of State funds. The interest accrued on the money held as State money by the treasurer as public officer, and hence belonged to the State.

After the Supreme Court decision was given suits against other former State treasurers were begun, and while all did not reach the Supreme Court, judgments to the amount of about $725,000 were secured against the

former treasurers and their bondsmen. Of this amount there was turned back into the State Treasury $373,385.95. During the progress of the additional suits, the Democrats were deposed, the election of 1904 bringing in a Republican legislature and a full set of Republican State officials. There had been shown on the part of the Democrats in the legislature of 1893 a disposition to let off the former treasurers from the payment of a portion at least of the interest on the interest which they had appropriated. The Democratic leaders were nearly unanimous in their desire not to bear too hard on the men who, in the appropriation of the interest, had merely followed a long-established custom. When, therefore, the Republican legislature in 1895 took the matter up, there was a pretty strong sentiment in favor of easing somewhat the burdens of the ex-officials and their bondsmen.

But the Democrats as a campaign cry had charged that the Republicans would refund the money already paid into the treasury as a result of the suits, and the Republicans had inserted in their platform a declaration binding them not to do this. To discontinue action, therefore, against those defendants who had not yet paid the money into the treasury, seemed like a glaring injustice to those defendants who had paid. At this juncture Senator Philetus Sawyer, one of the heaviest losers among the bondsmen of the treasurers, who had already paid, publicly pledged himself not to attempt to recover what he had paid as surety if the legislature should release the remaining defendants. Sawyer had paid in as

surety more than $100,000. His magnanimous action probably made possible the passing of the law which released Edward McFetridge from the payment of a balance still due of over $50,000, and discontinued the cases against former Treasurers Baetz and Kuehn, against whom judgment had been entered in the lower court in the sum of $228,000.

The passing of the bill releasing several of the former treasurers and their bondsmen was pretty severely criticised. Democrats as well as Republicans voted for it, so that it was not a distinctly party issue, but it engendered a good deal of ill-feeling. It was so manifestly a discrimination in favor of three of the former treasurers that many people in nowise interested in the treasurers themselves felt it to be an injustice. At the foundation of the legislative action, however, was a strong and pretty general feeling that while the court decision was entirely just, the result of it dealt unfairly with men who, with no intention of wrong doing, had merely followed long established custom, and during that time had paid out large sums for the support of their respective parties. In other words, everyone was glad to have the practice ended, but many did not care to have the onus and financial burden of it put upon the ex-treasurers. Another fact which had great influence with the legislature when the bill to release was before them, was that the time limit had expired as to several former State treasurers who, though they, like the others, had profited from the practice, were exempt from prosecution.

The treasury cases constituted an important episode

in the political history of the State, quite as much because of incidents of far-reaching effect growing out of them as because of their net results, though the latter were not insignificant. The State Treasury was enriched in the sum of nearly $400,000, and a dangerous practice in the handling of public funds was abolished.

HOARD'S ADMINISTRATION

During the years between 1875 and 1890 the Republican party maintained its dominance in State affairs. That it was enabled to do this was due chiefly to national issues rather than to its uplifting of any well-defined State policy. The tariff issue was probably the most potent influence in continuing the party in power. The period referred to was marked by an enormous industrial development in the State, and the tariff issue naturally related itself to the growing industries. The Greenback craze, and the Labor party, under vagaries sounding the whole gamut from anarchy to state socialism, and the prohibition issue, aided too, by driving conservative men, to whom party ties meant little, to a closer affiliation with the party which stood for conservatism. And beside these was the negative influence of an absence of a distinct State issue to claim the attention or stir the enthusiasm of any party. There had been sharply contested elections of Senators, Congressmen, Governors and minor State officials, but none involving any distinctly State issue.

The railroad problem, which, it may be repeated, was a convenient medium of expression, not only for protests

against real or fancied wrongs in transportation, but in a larger way the expression of a fear of the encroachment on the part of corporations upon the rights of the public, was not conspicuous, yet its influence was persistent; and though it was not clearly recognized either by Mr. Hoard himself or his opponents, the sentiment which required a candidate for Governor known to be friendly to the farming interests, and which, as related hereafter, resulted in the nomination of W. D. Hoard, was a manifestation of it. It should be said that every legislature during the fifteen years referred to had measures brought before them having for their purpose a closer supervision of railways. Many of them took the form of bills to increase the taxes of railway companies; others to establish uniform rates, others, still, to regulate operation. Some of these bills belonged to the class that came to be called "hold-ups": that is, measures introduced for the purpose of frightening companies into granting some favor; some were trivial; but there were too many of them which, even when they proposed impossible things, showed evidence of a sincere desire to restrict and control business interests, to be set aside heedlessly.

During the closing years of Governor Rusk's last term a number of gubernatorial candidates made their appearance. The prominent ones were E. C. McFetridge, who had been State Treasurer, and Horace A. Taylor, who later became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, which position he now holds. Both of these men had a large following. Taylor had been Chairman of the

Republican State Central Committee and had effected a better organization than had McFetridge. The summer of 1888 was well advanced before there was a prospect of any other candidate. The story of how another candidate did come into the field and won is interesting. During the winter of 1887-8, Horace Rublee, editor of the Milwaukee "Sentinel," had spent a month in Colorado, and while there met a fellow citizen—W. D. Hoard—whose acquaintance he had not before made. Hoard was practically unknown in politics, but was well known among the farmers of the State. He was the most popular lecturer on dairy topics at the Farm Institutes, and a recognized authority on dairying. During the weeks they were together Rublee and Hoard talked a good deal about State politics, and Rublee frequently expressed the wish that it were possible to secure a candidate from among the farmers who would be independent of the "ring" influences—some one, in short, who would bring to the office good business sagacity and a fresh manliness unspoiled by political experience, and who could command the support of the farming element. The day before the newly-made friends separated, Hoard had told Rublee that he had in mind the very man—Henry C. Adams of Madison, a farmer, a university graduate, and a lecturer before Farm Institutes and other gatherings of farmers. At Rublee's request Hoard agreed to write a letter to the "Sentinel" proposing Adams as a candidate.

Rublee returned to Milwaukee and within a week received from Henry C. Adams a long letter bringing

out W. D. Hoard as a farmer's candidate for Governor. In the meantime Hoard was preparing a letter to bring out Adams for Governor. Adams' letter, though it appeared anonymously, was well received. Farmers in all parts of the State took up the suggestion with avidity; and almost before he knew it Hoard was launched as a candidate. Thus what Hoard proposed to do for Adams the latter did for him, without either knowing what the other had in mind. Hoard won easily in the convention over Taylor and McFetridge; was elected by a plurality of 20,000 over his Democratic opponent, James Morgan, a Milwaukee business man, and entered upon the duties of the office in January, 1889.

The enactment of the Bennett law was the most noteworthy event in Governor Hoard's two years' administration. The Bennett law, which brought about a political upheaval, was enacted by the legislature of 1889. It was introduced by an Assemblyman named Bennett, from the Southwestern portion of the State, and when passed was known as Chapter 519, Laws of 1889. So far as the most careful investigation can discover, Bennett had no thought of attacking the parochial or private schools; nor does it appear that there was any influence back of the measure having this as an ulterior object. The potency of the measure in causing a political revolution in the State seems to have been of spontaneous generation. The only reason for its introduction ever given was a good one; namely, that 50,000 children in the State, between the ages of 7 and 14, were not attending school of any kind, and hence a rigid com-

pulsory school law was needed. If this were the sole reason for its enactment, the law served well its purpose, for there was a marked improvement in the conditions in the years immediately following its passage, though the law itself was repealed by the next legislature.

The law contained the usual provisions of a compulsory school law, but two of its requirements were believed by Catholics and Lutherans to have been aimed directly at their parochial schools. The first of these was that every child should attend some "private or public day school in the district in which he resides." The second offensive provision was that "no school shall be regarded as a school, under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history in the English language."

If either of these provisions had been omitted it might have been possible to convince the opponents of the measure that it was not intended in any way to interfere with parochial schools. But, having the two provisions, it was difficult to convince that it was a mere accident or a coincidence that a piece of machinery so destructive to parochial schools had been set in operation. While the parochial schools, both Catholic and Lutheran, were multiplying rapidly, it was clearly impossible to have all children attend such schools "in the city, town or district" where they resided. Besides the opposition to the law on this technical ground, there was a feeling—afterwards assiduously cultivated—that the law was meant as a covert attack upon the German and Scandinavian languages.

The first criticism of the law, which had been enacted by the votes of both Democrats and Republicans, appeared in a weekly German paper published under the auspices of the Catholic Church in Milwaukee. Some time early in 1890 a pamphlet in German of perhaps 50 pages was published by Christian Körner, who was connected with the "Germania" newspaper, in Milwaukee, severely criticising the law as an attack upon the German language and upon the parochial schools, and calling upon Lutherans and Catholics to unite to secure the repeal of the law. Not, however, until some of the Democratic leaders took up the subject did the full perfidy of the law appear. To the Hon. R. B. Anderson, professor of Scandinavian literature in the University of Wisconsin and afterward United States minister to Copenhagen, belongs the credit of first directing the attention of the Democratic leaders to the fact that the clause requiring attendance at school "in the city, town or district" in which the child resides would operate to close two-thirds of the parochial schools in the country districts. Once the buzfuz eloquence of the Democratic leaders was turned upon the alleged outrage, its full perfidy appeared. Then followed a campaign unique in its character, in that it brought about a close working alliance between the Lutherans and Catholics. Every church society became the field for political organization. There are in existence now some of the blanks prepared for the use of priests of the Catholic church in polling their members. The late Archbishop Katzer, then the head of the Catholic Archdiocese of Milwaukee, took

the lead for the churches, and to his superb powers of organization and to the preceding strategy of the Democratic leaders in making it a church issue, is due the credit of the great Democratic victory in 1890.

Many of the Republican party leaders, notably H. C. Payne, foresaw trouble with the law before the churches had organized their campaign, and were not pleased when Governor Hoard threw down the gauntlet to the churches defending the law in a public address. The "Little Red Schoolhouse" became the battle cry of the Republicans after the State convention had renominated Governor Hoard, and much enthusiasm rallied around it. Support was offered the Republicans by what was believed to be a great army of "Bennett Law Democrats." This reinforcement made up in enthusiasm what they lacked in votes, and they helped to encourage the Republicans. Governor Hoard was confident from the beginning of the campaign that he would win, and he made a splendid campaign. What encouraged him most, perhaps, was the support secretly promised him by the Irish priests of the Catholic Church, who appeared not to sympathize with their ultramondane brethren. Many of Hoard's supporters felt confident that their favorite would ultimately reach the White House upon the educational issue; but that issue, like the Republican majority of that year, disappeared with the election. George W. Peck was elected by a plurality of nearly 30,000, and a Democratic legislature made laws in Madison during the next four years.

GERRYMANDERING THE STATE

When John Johnston, a leading Milwaukee banker, presented Geo. W. Peck's name to the convention which nominated the latter for Governor, he charged that the legislative apportionment of the State was scandalously unfair to Democrats. The Democratic legislature, which was elected that fall with the Peck ticket, had hardly organized for work in 1891 before plans were laid for redistricting the State. Dr. Wendall A. Anderson of La Crosse, secretary of the Democratic State Committee, who is given credit for the apportionment made, was on hand to aid the legislature. In due time the apportionment was prepared and passed by the legislature. Republican members protested against the manifest injustice of the divisions made, but without effect. Apparently the purpose was to ensure the election of a Democratic legislature in perpetuity. When the legislature adjourned the subject was taken up by some of the Republican leaders, and it was decided to bring action in the Supreme Court to set the apportionment aside because unconstitutional. The late A. J. Turner of Portage prepared most of the evidence upon which the action was brought, and Senator Spooner made one of the arguments before the court. It was shown that in making the senatorial apportionment little attention was paid to population. Brown County, for example, with a population of 12,676 less than the unit of representation, was made a district; Outagamie County, with 13,350 less, was made a district, and so on. In other

cases districts were made with a population far in excess of the unit of representation. The same disregard of population was shown in forming Assembly Districts. For instance, La Crosse County, with a population of 38,801, and largely Republican, was given one member of the Assembly, while Manitowoc County, a Democratic stronghold, with a population of 37,831, was given three Assemblymen. The unfairness and injustice of the apportionment naturally aroused the Republicans.

When the Republicans determined to bring the matter into court they decided that the proper method was to have public bodies in the districts most affected direct that proceedings be begun. Accordingly, boards of supervisors in several counties directed their respective district attorneys to begin proceedings before the Supreme Court. The plan was to bring the action in the form of an application for an injunction, and if that failed to apply for a writ of mandamus. The rules of the Supreme Court required that in such proceedings the application must be made first to the Attorney-General to make the necessary petition to the court for leave to sue. This was done, and Attorney-General O'Connor signed and filed the necessary papers, and on Feb. 2, 1892, leave was granted the Attorney-General to bring the action. Senator Spooner, C. E. Estabrook and Col. Geo. W. Bird appeared for the State, the title of the case being "The State *ex rel. vs.* Cunningham." General Edward S. Bragg appeared for the Secretary of State, Thos. J. Cunningham. The case came up before

the Supreme Court on Feb. 9, 1892, and on March 22, 1892, the court handed down its decision declaring the Apportionment Act to be unconstitutional.

The Apportionment Act of 1891 having been declared unconstitutional, Governor Peck on June 1, 1892, called a special session of the legislature to make a new apportionment. The instructions and rebuke contained in the opinions of the court did not have the proper effect on the legislature. It met pursuant to the call on June 28 and proceeded to make another apportionment. Against the protest of the Republican minority, they passed a new measure, which was only a slight improvement on the former one. The Republicans decided to test the second law, but here they met a serious obstacle. The Attorney-General insisted that the special session had fully observed the requirements laid down by the court, and hence had passed a constitutional measure. He refused to bring the action, and reported in a communication to the court his reasons for so doing.

The petitioner in the case was C. F. Lamb of Madison, and his attorneys applied to the court to be allowed to bring action without leave of the Attorney-General. After considering the case the court granted leave to the petitioner to bring action unless the Attorney-General should begin the action himself before August 19, 1892. Thus the second case came before the Supreme Court. As attorneys for the petitioner were Senator Spooner, Geo. G. Green, Colonel Geo. W. Bird and C. E. Estabrook. Wm. F. Vilas, but recently elected United States Senator, appeared for the Secretary of State. On

August 28, 1892, the defendant demurred to the complaint on the grounds (1) That the court had no jurisdiction of the subject of the action; (2) that the plaintiff had not the right to sue in the name of the State upon the alleged cause of action; (3) that there was a defect of parties, in that the Attorney-General of the State was the officer required by law to prosecute the action aforesaid, and no cause of action was shown to exist in favor of the said relator. On Sept. 13 the plaintiff applied for an order to strike out as frivolous the demurrer and asking for judgment as prayed for in the complaint. Thus the merits of the case came up directly for decision. Arguments on the demurrer on its merits were made Sept. 20, 1892, and on Sept. 27 the court handed down its decision overruling the demurrer, Justice Winslow dissenting, on the ground that without the consent of the Attorney-General the court could not take jurisdiction.

Again a special session of the legislature was called, to meet on October 27, and this session passed the apportionment measure under which the next legislature was elected. The effect of the gerrymander was to discredit the Democrats, and probably helped to bring about their overthrow in 1894.

UPHAM'S ADMINISTRATION

Several influences combined to make Republicans success in 1894 easy: The panic of 1893 had generally discredited the Democratic administration; now that

the obnoxious Bennett law had been repealed the Lutherans and Catholics were finding the bonds that held them together in 1890 to be irksome; the A. P. A. movement (American Protective Association), which took naturally to opposing the alliance between the Catholics and Lutherans, was assuming large proportions. It seemed easy to forecast Republican success, and it was natural that there should be a goodly number of candidates for the State offices. More candidates for Governor were out in the field working the last month preceding the convention than in any previous campaign. The principal ones were Major Edw. Scofield, Major W. H. Upham, former Congressman Nils P. Haugen, Horace A. Taylor, James G. Monahan and E. I. Kidd. All the surface indications pointed to the nomination of Scofield. But when the convention met and the first skirmishing was over, it was found that Major Upham had the greatest "second-choice" strength, and he was nominated the second day of the convention. Haugen, whose candidacy was put forward by Robert M. La Follette, showed surprising strength. Several years prior to this a branch of the Republican League had been organized in Wisconsin, and Haugen, unexpectedly to the other candidates, received strong support from its members. Early in the year the Milwaukee Republicans had pinned their faith to John C. Koch, a prominent German merchant, who had been elected Mayor of Milwaukee when Peck became Governor. After the Bennett law episode it seemed the proper thing to select a German candidate. Koch was hailed as the

"inevitable" candidate. He looked upon the proposition kindly for some time, but late in the spring of 1894 he announced to his friends that the demands of his business interests made it impossible for him to enter the race.

The "A. P. A." element was given a portion of the credit for Upham's nomination. This organization was much in evidence, and it is probable that the members of it themselves greatly exaggerated their political influence. However that may be, it is a matter of record that Upham, when he became Governor, paid no attention to the demands of the "A. P. A." for recognition. The "A. P. A." ran its course in a few years. Before the year 1900 it was difficult to find many persons willing to admit that they had been members.

Governor Upham began his administration under conditions which had not been paralleled in the history of the State. The Republican party had been out of power for four years, and every office that could be so filled was occupied by Democrats. The results of the financial distress of 1893 had made office seekers of hundreds of Republicans who hitherto had been liberal contributors to the party campaigns. This addition to the usual horde of hungry office seekers made Governor Upham's lot a trying one. It is said that there were nearly 6,000 applications on file for the 150 odd offices which he could either directly or indirectly make appointments to. Nevertheless, Upham's unfailing cheerfulness and his splendid business experience stood him in good stead, and he emerged from the turmoil with what must be considered great credit. The enactment of the measure

which released several of the former State treasurers from the judgments standing against them brought the administration its only serious criticism; and when it is considered that it took both Democratic and Republican votes to pass the measure, and that members of both factions of the dominant party voted for it, the aiming of criticism directly at the administration was hardly fair. It was during Upham's administration that factional lines came to be drawn within the Republican party. This fact also made Upham's work difficult.

For years before his nomination it had been Governor Upham's desire to see the State establish a home or school for the feeble-minded. He strongly recommended the work in his message to the legislature, and the legislature carried out the recommendations. He strongly urged in that message also the erection of a building to house the vast collection of the State Historical Society, and the magnificent Historical Library Building is the result.

Upham was elected by a plurality of about 53,000 over Geo. W. Peck, the largest plurality ever given a candidate for a State office, up to that time. He could have been renominated, but his large lumber and manufacturing interests demanding his attention, he announced in June, 1896, his intention not to be a candidate again.

Governor Upham was a close friend of President McKinley, and did much during the latter part of 1895 and the early months of 1896 to crystallize sentiment in the State favorable to McKinley's presidential aspira-

tions. Wisconsin's delegation to the St. Louis convention in 1896 was unanimously and enthusiastically for McKinley.

SCOFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION

The factional differences in the Republican ranks, which first became manifest during the Upham administration, became more marked during the campaign which ended in the nomination and election of Major Edw. Scofield in 1896. The principal candidates before the Republican convention that fall were Edward Scofield, R. M. La Follette, Emil Baensch, Ira B. Bradford, Eugene E. Elliott and C. E. Estabrook. The contest was understood to be chiefly between Scofield and La Follette, and the hopes of the other candidates rested in the possibility of a deadlock that would eliminate the two leading candidates. On the first ballot La Follette had 261 1-2; Scofield, 249 1-2; Baensch, 83; Elliott, 48 1-2; Bradford, 31; Estabrook, 60. After the first ballot Elliott's vote began to disintegrate, and went naturally to Scofield. On the fifth ballot, in pursuance of an understanding between La Follette and Baensch, the former's supporters were to give Baensch votes, in return for which on the next ballot, Baensch was to return the favor. But when it appeared as if La Follette's strength was going to pieces, the Bradford and the Elliott men went almost solidly for Scofield, so that the fifth ballot stood: Scofield, 323 1-2; La Follette, 238; Baensch, 108 1-2; Elliott, 5; Estabrook, 3; Bradford,

2. This brought Scofield's vote so near the point of winning that he gained still further, and the next ballot was not completed when H. C. Adams, who had made the speech nominating La Follette, moved to make Scofield's nomination unanimous. The strength shown by La Follette at this time was an important factor in his future campaigns. As a matter of fact, he did not lose a dozen votes. Some of his men went to Baensch as a compliment, but had they known that it was a final ballot they would have stood firmly with La Follette. Scofield's Democratic opponent was W. C. Silverthorn.

Major Scofield had had the advantage of four years' experience in the State Senate before entering upon the duties of Governor, so that he was not unfamiliar with State affairs. He brought to the office the experience of a long and successful business career, and an integrity that was Puritan-like in its firmness and aggressiveness. By education he was methodical and accurate in all of his dealings and by nature courageous almost to recklessness. When these qualities of the man are thoroughly understood, it does not seem so surprising that he had been in office less than a month when he had familiarized himself with every detail of the State's financial system. When he found that for twenty years or more it had been the practice to keep the general fund of the State solvent by inducing the railroad companies to pay their taxes twice a year in advance of the time they became due, and by borrowing from the fund incomes, he took prompt action.

No sooner had he ascertained the fact than he ad-

dressed a communication to the legislature informing them of the condition of the finances and the methods which had been used, and asking them to authorize the levy of a tax that would enable the general fund to be kept solvent, prevent tampering with the trust fund incomes and do away with the humiliating practice of borrowing from the railroad companies. The message had its effect, and since that time the railroad companies have not been held up for advance payment of taxes. The State tax the following year was the largest ever known up to that time. It took nearly a million dollars to square things.

Scofield next turned his attention to the State charitable and penal institutions, and soon effected reform in the civil service so far as it affected those institutions, and compelled the whole system of maintenance to be placed on a stricter business basis. He put a stop to the appointment of help in these institutions on recommendation of members of the legislature or political leaders, and informed the board of control that he would hold them to strict account for the appointment and keeping of competent help. The Governor was a man accustomed to giving orders and accustomed, also, to have them obeyed, and department heads soon learned that he "meant business." So well did his methods commend themselves to the general public that he was given the name of the "business" Governor.

During the session of the legislature of 1897 two bills were passed and vetoed that became important factors in the next campaign. They were bills to increase

the taxes of the sleeping car and express companies. The bills did not get through until the last days of the session, and when they reached the executive office it was found that in their passage the ayes and noes had not been called as required by the Constitution. The bills were immediately returned to the legislature, with a short message calling attention to the unconstitutionality of the measures, and urging that they be properly passed. The closing words of the message were: "If we are to maintain a righteous system of taxation in our State we must see to it that the great public service corporations, which receive without stint the full protection of our laws, shall pay their just share of the expenses of Government." These words were plain enough to indicate Scofield's attitude toward the subject. When, through a dispute between legislative committees, the bills failed of proper passage, his veto was charged to his kindliness toward corporations. During this session the Corrupt Practices Act was passed, which not only greatly restricted the use of money in political campaigns, but required candidates to file a statement of expenses showing to whom and for what purpose the money was paid.

In 1892 A. J. Turner of Portage made an effort to arouse public sentiment against the use of railroad passes and franking privileges by public officials, to the end that a proper law covering the subject might be passed. Although Mr. Turner sent letters and circulars over the State, the response was not encouraging. During the legislature of 1897, A. R. Hall, a member of the Assembly from Dunn County, who for a number of years

Wm. E. Cramer

had been advocating in the legislature the creation of a railroad rate commission to control rates, agitated the subject of an anti-pass law in connection with his other railway-control propaganda, but while his suggestions were received with some favor, there seemed to be little likelihood of their being enacted into laws for a good many years. During the next session of the legislature, however, a very stringent anti-pass law was placed on the statute books, and a constitutional amendment embodying the substance of the law was submitted to the votes of the people.

The legislature authorized the naming of a volunteer tax commission, and this commission became the forerunner of the paid commission created in 1899, which has proved to be one of the most important boards yet created.

GOLD DEMOCRATS

Wisconsin Democrats took an important part in organizing the National Democratic party after Bryan was nominated on a silver platform in 1896. A State convention of Democrats opposed to Bryan and his financial theories was held in Milwaukee in August, which adopted resolutions asserting their devotion to the sound money platform adopted by the National Convention of 1892. General Bragg and Senator Vilas were prominent in this movement, and both warmly supported the Palmer and Buckner ticket nominated at Indianapolis. The National Democrats did not put up a State ticket

and the Scofield ticket received a plurality of about 95,000, while McKinley's vote was nearly 103,000.

SCOFIELD'S SECOND TERM

Governor Scofield took the position in 1898 that he could not, without loss of self-respect, make an effort to secure a renomination. But his friends took up his case, and the summer of that year witnessed a very sharp pre-convention campaign, in which indulgence in personalities by the campaign orators and writers left many sore spots. R. M. La Follette again entered the lists against Scofield, taking the ground that the control of the "machine" should be broken in the State, and the lines of demarcation between the factions in the Republican party became clearly defined—with Governor Scofield as the leader of the "Stalwart" faction and La Follette at the head of the "Half-Breeds." La Follette put the whole force of his energy and brilliant oratory into the campaign, but Scofield won in the convention by a vote of 620 1-2, to 436 1-2 for La Follette. The latter, however, succeeded in having several of his planks adopted in the platform, and also in having a number of his friends placed on the ticket.

So bitterly had the campaign waged that it seemed probable that there would be a serious defection. When the election returns were received it was found that Scofield had a plurality of 37,784, while the balance of the ticket had 55,000. Judge Hiram Sawyer was Scofield's Democratic opponent.

Scofield's second administration was marked by the same scrupulous care for business accuracy, for economy and for honesty in the management of the financial affairs of the State which characterized his first term. The permanent Tax Commission was created, as promised in the platform; a stringent anti-pass law was enacted prohibiting the acceptance or use of passes or franking privileges by public officials. These measures attracted a great deal of attention and occupied much of the time of the session.

In January, 1899, Joseph V. Quarles of Milwaukee was chosen United States Senator to succeed John L. Mitchell, whose term was soon to expire. The contest was a strenuous one, and had about it some of the flavor of the Washburn-Carpenter contest. There were five leading candidates, Quarles, Ex-Congressman Isaac Stephenson, Congressman Joseph W. Babcock, Ex-Congressman Samuel A. Cook and Judge Charles Webb. The caucus adjourned from day to day, Quarles showing the most strength from the start. A significent feature of the first ballot taken was that when it was voted to have open ballots, Stephenson lost a goodly number of votes that had been given him when the informal ballot, which had been secret, was taken. Sharp as the contest was, it did not seem to leave much ill feeling, and Quarles' election was generally acceptable. T. E. Ryan was given the Democratic vote in joint session. Quarles was one of the leading lawyers of the State, a finished speaker, and a courtly gentleman. He filled out his first term with marked credit to himself and honor to

the State. He was defeated for re-election by R. M. La Follette, in the legislature of 1905.

LA FOLLETTE'S ADMINISTRATION

In the early part of the last year of his administration, Governor Scofield, in a published interview, announced his intention not to be a candidate for a third term. This was made necessary by the evident intention of many of his supporters to seek to renominate him. His health for several years had not been satisfactory, and an old army wound was troubling him to such a degree that his vitality was impaired. His physicians and his family felt as he did, that it would be dangerous for him to go into another campaign.

There was a feeling among some of the other party leaders like H. C. Payne, Congressman Babcock and Charles F. Pfister that La Follette had "put up" so good a fight for himself in the previous two campaigns that he was entitled to the nomination; and then, too, these men probably thought that by not opposing La Follette they might do away with the factional fight in the party which had grown to be very bitter. But despite the opinions of the leaders mentioned, there were many who did not relish the idea of giving La Follette the nomination; and there were some who had ambitions of their own. But La Follette secured the nomination without much of an effort and was elected by a good plurality. Louis Bohmrich of Kenosha was his Democratic opponent.

La Follette was about 47 years old when he assumed the duties of Governor. He was born in Wisconsin, raised on a farm, and received both his academic and law degrees from the University of Wisconsin. As a young man in the University of Wisconsin he displayed marked powers as an orator and an organizer. He was barely out of school when elected District Attorney of Dane County and was sent to Congress when but 29. His remarkable energy and enthusiasm won him strong friends there. At home his genius as a political organizer and as a leader was fully recognized, and is to-day. In many ways he is the most successful political leader the State has ever had, judging him by the present results of his work. His courage and his qualities of leadership have been fully demonstrated.

The day preceding the reading of Governor La Follette's first message to the legislature, the State Tax Commission, appointed by Governor Scofield, submitted its first report to that body. This report represented the first systematic effort to compare the taxes paid by the different kinds of property, and to find an answer to the question which had been to the front for a number of years—whether the railways were paying as heavy taxes relatively as other property. The answer to this question was contained in the Commission's recommendation that the taxes of the railways of the State be increased $600,000 per annum. The Commission's report was severely criticised by the railroads as unjust and as based upon insufficient information, but in the five years that have elapsed since, the railroads themselves, in the pres-

ence of still heavier demands upon them, have acknowledged the fairness of the Commission findings at that time.

For a number of years prior to his candidacy for Governor, La Follette had advocated in speeches and lectures the substitution of a primary election for the caucus and convention system. In his first message to the legislature he paid a great deal of attention to this subject. The legislature was not fully in accord with the Governor, and before the session adjourned, owing to some rebukes administered by the Governor and resented by the legislature, the relations were somewhat strained. This led to the organization in Milwaukee of what became known as the "Eleventh Story" movement, to prevent Governor La Follette's renomination the following year. The movement was ill-advised and came to naught. La Follette was renominated and reelected, and with him a legislature more in accord with his views. The convention which renominated him was the one that adopted the resolution aimed at Senator Spooner, referred to elsewhere.

The Governor was not disappointed in the legislature. It passed a primary election bill revolutionary in its character, to which the Senate attached the referendum clause. In the general election in 1904 the vote was heavily in favor of the primary election law, and it is now in force. Later in the session the Governor, in a message, called the attention of the legislature to the necessity for railway rate regulation. This question soon developed into an issue, and Governor La Follette, tak-

ing it up with all the vigor and force for which he is noted, succeeded in getting a comprehensive law passed, by the legislature of 1905, creating a railway commission, with power to regulate rates.

The culmination of the factional fight in the Republican party came in 1904, when Governor La Follette became a candidate for a third time. Two other candidates appeared, Ex-Congressman Cook and Ex-Lieutenant Governor Baensch. In a number of counties and districts contesting delegations were elected, so intense and bitter was the fight between the factions. When the time came for the convention, both sides claimed the victory. The State Central Committee was with the Governor, and it had to pass upon the credentials of the delegates. The result of this was that the organization of the convention was in the hands of the Governor's friends. The other side protested, and then walked out of the convention and organized another convention, known as the Opera House Convention, the other being styled the Gymnasium Convention. Both conventions nominated delegates-at-large to the National Convention, and a State ticket. There being two sets of delegates-at-large, the contest came up first for adjudication in the National Convention, and the Opera House Convention delegates—Senators Spooner and Quarles, Congressmen Babcock and Emil Baensch—were seated. This apparently gave regularity to the Stalwart Convention and ticket, as far as it went. But in making up the ticket the Secretary of State had the power to place his own ticket as the regular one, so action was brought to compel

him to put the Cook ticket—the one nominated by the Opera House Convention—on the ballot as the regular Republican ticket. The case became famous. Prominent lawyers appeared on each side and ably made their claims. The contention of the Cook ticket was that the Opera House Convention was the only regular convention because the State Central Committee had illegally deprived regularly credentialed delegates of seats in the convention, and refused them a hearing before the convention. The other side held that the statute provided that in case of a split in the convention, the State Central Committee in existence when the split occurred, had power to determine which was regular. The case was fully prepared by both sides, and there were volumes of evidence going into the merits of the case, as to which of the contesting delegations from the different counties or districts were regularly chosen. The Supreme Court passed on the validity of the law giving the old State Central Committee power to determine which of the two contesting delegations was regular, and held that the old committee could exercise that power. As the old committee had declared the La Follette ticket to be regular, this ruling of the court made the Opera House Convention irregular, but granted the ticket a place on the ballot. Chief Justice Cassoday dissented, and in a long opinion upheld every contention of the Cook ticket.

It was only natural that the outcome of the convention contest should intensify the factional feeling in the Republican party, and that more of the National Repub-

licans, as the ticket was named on the official ballot, should vote for Peck, the Democratic nominee, than for their own ticket, which had no show of success. After the Supreme Court gave its decision, S. A. Cook, who was nominated for Governor by the Opera House Convention, withdrew, and former Governor Scofield was put in his place. Governor La Follette was reelected, his plurality being 50,952.

The election of 1904 gave Governor La Follette a legislature more friendly to him even than the one of 1903, and he was enabled to pass a stringent railway rate commission measure and a comprehensive civil service law. This legislature also elected Governor La Follette United States Senator to succeed Senator Quarles.

The most important enactments which Governor La Follette has to his credit are the Primary Election Law, the Rate Commission Law and the Civil Service Law. The Rate Commission Law, in its general purpose and trend, is highly satisfactory to the people, regardless of party. It represents the logical outcome of the desire for legislative supervision of railroads and other great corporations, which we have seen has been virtually continuous since 1865. It is the response to an economic law which it would have been wise to observe—and good politics as well—years ago. It will not remedy all the evils of corporation encroachment, and its wholesomeness lies chiefly in its reinstatement of the principle of corporate control by the legislature laid down thirty years ago by the Supreme Court in the Potter Law cases.

During the past few years the Socialistic element in

the State has crystallized into a party called the Social Democrats. This party goes the whole distance in State socialism. It cast nearly 25,000 votes in 1904, and has the promise in it of greater growth.

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